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T·L·S
THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

FRIDAY • 23 MAY 1975 • No 3,820 • 15p

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The religion of Romanticism

By Peter Conrad

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES: Revolution and Romanticism
487pp. Oxford University Press. £7.50.

WALTER L. REED: Meditations on the Hero
207pp. Yale University Press. £6.

Yeats referred to the poets of his generation as the last romantics, but they were in fact only the first of several generations to feel themselves to be so. In a sense twentieth-century culture has been a prolonged, perplexed inquest into Romanticism, at one level officially disowning it, at another democratizing it in drugs, magic, astrology, self-exploratory suicide and the overtaking of culture by pop music, which recreates electrically in amplified form Sterne's vibrant sensorium of the world. Though we are the last romantics, it is also true that we are all romantics now. Romanticism has successfully universalized itself, with the aid of affluent technology—what began at the end of the eighteenth century as a new sense of human individualism has now turned against that individuality, coaxing it into visionary delirium or inciting it to communal hysteria. The peculiar and painful sense of exclusion and ironic self-division of Byron and Hölderlin has become the spiritual uniform of every undergraduate; impassioned radicalism has likewise become obligatory and in so extending itself lost its integrity and become a violent defence of privilege.

Because it is still happening, romanticism has not yet been satisfactorily defined: the theories are numerous, as Howard Mumford Jones says at the beginning of *Revolution and Romanticism*, and they cancel one another out. A. O. Lovejoy attempted to make a virtue out of this plurality by saying that, because romanticism is a diversifying phenomenon, rather than a unitary set of rules like classicism, we should think in terms of the variety of romanticisms and discriminate between them rather than invent a common denominator. Intellectually the error has been to imagine that romanticism is a static quantity, a literary programme worked out in the years between 1780 and 1830 and completed, whereas in fact it is a process, a way of thinking rather than a set of conclusions, which requires space and time to unravel its implications and contradictions. It spreads laterally through neighbouring countries (Shakespeare as brilliantly misconceived by Schlegel or Hugo is more significant than the Shakespeare of native critical tradition; German critics even transform Sterne into a quizzical, self-doubting romantic) and chronologically down the whole length of the nineteenth century (as Walter Reed's *Meditations on the Hero* implies, the Victorian novel is the form which logically succeeds and elaborates the concerns of romantic poetry and philosophy). More than a definition of romanticism, we need a catalogue of its forms, for like Shakespeare it possesses a slippery aptitude for becoming, a readiness to turn itself into whatever confronts it.

Professor Jones is primarily concerned with romanticism as a religion, a justification of the ways of nature rather than those of god—and as an ideology: the motive of the American and French Revolutions; with old-fashioned liberal zeal he even appends to his text a translation of "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen", touching in its obsolescence. He organizes his discussion around a set of notions of individuality. In politics romanticism found man a subject and transformed him into a citizen. In philosophy it weakened the prestige of innate ideas and encouraged a subjectivity which grows ever more defiant, from Locke's argument that the world only exists so far as we perceive it, to Schopenhauer's dissolution of a world sustained only by anxious will and mendacious representation. In art it canonizes the genius and takes for its heroes rebels and overreachers, Milton's Satan reinterpreted as a parliamentary liberal, Shelley's Prometheus assuming scientific control over nature, Goethe's Faust no longer the enemy of god but the friend of humanity. This one might call, in its confident meliorism, the Whig interpretation of romanticism.

The last pages of Professor Jones's book argue against the pessimistic conclusion that romanticism has gone sour: to imagine so is the error of "liberal weekly journals", the "so-called subculture of youth", those who live in communes and those who confuse "human love with the sexual act in even its unpleasing variations" (which are not specified)—though these discontents are the contemporary inheritors of romanticism. Combatively asserting that romanticism has bestowed on us "the sense of an indestructible centre of all human individuality", Professor Jones quotes Faulkner's Nobel Prize speech which reduces the Everlasting Yes of Zarathustra to the flatulent jargon of the committee room: "I decline to accept the end of man", says Faulkner, as if it were as simple as that.

This is not only a Whig amelioration of romanticism, it is also sedately Protestant—historically the idea that "every human being is an inviolable end in himself" is the gift of Christianity, not of romanticism. The two coincide, as Hugo pointed out in the preface to *Cromwell*, so that the spirit of romantic art is Gothic, its chaotic plenitude secularizing the Christian reverence for each item of created nature, its fusion of contraries (a sort of metaphysical double plot) expressing the equal rights of soul and body.

But one of the dangerous implications of romantic morality is that the sovereign individual may sacrifice others in the process of self-realization (just as, in political theory, J. L. Talmon and Hannah Arendt have shown romanticism to be illiberal and totalitarian). The romantic hero is characteristically one who absorbs and then discards the tributary individualities of others—like Don Giovanni the encyclopedic seducer reducing the world to an inventory of his victims, or the sublime ego of Wordsworth transforming any competing subjectivity into blank, rocky objectivity, as Lucy is reduced to oneness with the rocks and stones and trees. The sense of individuality is not the comfortable security of the property-owner but very often depends on pain (Milton's Belial feels his intellectual being to be ratified by his torments) and the imminence of loss (as in the romantic version of Hamlet pondering suicide). Professor Jones's is a romanticism without the agony, eminently civic and responsible. The suspicion that this is an American domestication of the romantic is confirmed when he refers to the novels of Jean Paul Richter as "a Disneyland of unexpected events", or when he finds a sense of "the peace of death" in David's picture of the murdered Marat—on the contrary, the scene is unreposeful, for the dark, vacant space which lowers over the body closes off the possibility of a heavenly freedom for the dead.

The tone of domestic conciliation enters Professor Jones's discussion of Rousseau's social contract, which he declares is not radical—"he held that the state results from an a priori agreement separately assented to by individuals who, living originally in a state of nature and eventually finding that life intolerable, consent to pool their individual wills in something called the general will, the quintessence of civil society, and so exchange natural freedom for civil liberty". This is to omit the emotional liabilities of the contract as they are registered for instance in Jane Austen's novels, a cautionary inversion of romanticism, reticent, constrained, the opposite of liberal fantasy. Jane Austen's characters dare not live outside society, but they detest living in it; they know the contract to be an armed truce, but to break it by speaking honestly for once, as Emma does on Box Hill, incurs exclusion and imprisonment with Mr Knightly as her sober warder. Like Charlotte Lucas in marrying Collins, they exchange a natural freedom which frightens them for a civil liberty in which they concur with quiet desperation.

Shaftesbury, in his levee on enthusiasm recommended as an antidote to the giddy elation of inspiration a composed rationality and good humour: grim good humour is the comic attitude of Jane Austen, who employs her privileged position as narrator to say things about her characters which she will not permit them to say about one another. She enjoys that freedom of brutal nature which allows her to exterminate her enemies—but only in art, which lies outside the etiquette of the social contract, and hence unavailingly. Art belongs in the irresponsible state of nature; society is a fiction, a cold war in which the mutuality of antagonisms creates an unsteady balance. Between the two is a frustrating gap which not even the artist can cross. Professor Jones mentions Jane Austen only twice in passing, but under the guard of its timorousness hers is the most revolutionary insight into society in early romantic literature.

In a book whose scope is as synoptic as this, there are inevitable smudgings of detail and glib yoking together of contraries. Professor Jones calls John Martin's "Bard" gigantic, which is misleading—its dimensions are 84in x 61in, but the oddity of Martin's pictures, as Lamb pointed out, is their miniature quality: they hint at vastness by the careful ratio of magnitude between their microscopic figures and a looming landscape. Manrico in *Il Trovatore* is referred to as Manfred; and is it really true that "most of Verdi's operas from his early and middle periods celebrate a virtuous hero wronged by the aristocracy"? Having adopted the dramatic machinery of the eighteenth-century heroic drama, Verdi is generally concerned with conflicts between love and duty within the chivalric caste. Manrico may have been raised by a gipsy, but he is the Count of Luna's brother.

The pressures of summary incline Professor Jones to numerical criticism: "The writings of Voltaire alone run to seventy volumes, those of Diderot to twenty fatter ones"; *The Prelude* "runs to fourteen books and to nearly 8,000 lines"; *Faust* "runs to 12,111 lines of verse, not to speak of a few lines of prose". Numerous subjects are alluded to which are clearly in need of investigation—now that Frances Yates has uncovered the hermetic symbolism of Renaissance pageantry, it seems frivolous of Professor Jones to refer to the classical allegories of the revolutionary fêtes contrived by David as "somewhat childlike".

The readings of poems seldom go beyond modest paraphrase. "Kubla Khan" for instance is rhetorically questioned—"Why the milk of Paradise and why its danger? Why the Abyssinian maid? Why the dangerous chasm . . .? No reason can be asked or given"—when in fact there is an answer implicit in the progress from passive vision to poetic construction: the landscape is first imperiously willed into being by Kubla Khan, but from his decree Coleridge passes to the tentative inventions of the artist in the damsel with the dulcimer who conjures up Mount Abora and the poet who rebuilds the paradoxical dome of sun and ice and in doing so unseats Kubla Khan, since this poetic initiation has made him an object of holy dread. He has turned Kubla Khan's lush, overgrown and violent pleasure-garden into an aesthetic paradise.

Possibly the most useful and original section of the book is that on genius. It is a dangerous idea, and one that has yielded to various modern corruptions, for instead of being a maker of art-objects the artist has increasingly become his own object, absolved from the need to create art since he has created himself. Wilde's remark that he had put his genius into his life and only his talent into his work is not a confession of failure but a defiant statement of faith which places him on the verge of our own century. A great classic artist like Shakespeare or Mozart is, to paraphrase Brigid Brophy, too busy producing works of genius to bother about playing the role of genius; but romanticism so far reversed the artist's relation to his work that Carlyle for instance could argue that Shakespeare was still a genius, despite his having delivered himself of numerous but scarcely relevant works.

The romantic theory of genius is [illegible]

self-regarding, [illegible] liberation of [illegible] their abstraction [illegible] play rather than [illegible] in thoughts and [illegible] this which makes [illegible] in its frustration [illegible] one of the most [illegible] documents of roma[illegible] Shandyean genius [illegible] process of thinking [illegible] arrival at settled [illegible] sor Jones quotes a [illegible] genius from a treatise [illegible] Brown, published [illegible] mired by Kant: [illegible] flamed by ingenuity [illegible] (an indecorous comic [illegible] consciousness) and [illegible] with an ardent rapid[illegible] city of its motion [illegible] a chariot wheel [illegible] the quickness of its [illegible]

In contrast Dr J.A. [illegible] associative liberties of [illegible] poets as a 'sympa[illegible] deranged,' incapable [illegible] traries in their separ[illegible] Gerard describes [illegible] thought, not its dour[illegible] and its adventurous[illegible] trating the cave of [illegible] where there lurk [illegible] tragic monsters: "W[illegible] ciating principles [illegible] imagination, conscious [illegible] its own strength, [illegible] out needing support [illegible] assistance, into [illegible] unexplored, and [illegible] their remotest corners [illegible] with the length of [illegible]

This is a descriptio[illegible] tion which lends [illegible] to comedy (the frolicsome [illegible] sibility of Sterne [illegible] nephew) or sublimity [illegible] minded and [illegible] Gerard's word—intell[illegible] romantic poets). The [illegible] of the mental origins [illegible] of it a physical product [illegible] of nervous shocks [illegible] mental connexions, [illegible] the agitated life of the [illegible] which is in turn part of [illegible] accidental body. Hence [illegible] romantic epics of mental [illegible] *The Prelude* or *Biographia* [illegible] can be set in complement [illegible] of the body's vicissitudes [illegible] and incontinent [illegible] *Endymion* or *Don Juan*.

In terms of literary [illegible] ticism deals in hybrids, [illegible] sites in the hope of [illegible] gather from the constr[illegible] Both epic and drama [illegible] into lyric: Wordsworth [illegible] the epic into a lyrical [illegible] his own psychological [illegible] romantic critics reduce [illegible] ciousness of Shakespeare [illegible] and make them [illegible] heard in the privacy of [illegible] But from this lyrical [illegible] paradoxically emerges [illegible] and the most extended [illegible] form, the novel, which [illegible] plants poetry. The novel [illegible] a conjunction of opposi[illegible] apparent effort, joining [illegible] timacy with the social [illegible] drama and the loose [illegible] glish proliferation of [illegible] novel is both the most [illegible] the most guardedly [illegible] forms. It carries with it [illegible] rules, but this allows [illegible] men to take on the [illegible] print of its creator's [illegible] Whereas for the [illegible] dramatist is gallingly [illegible] his work (Shakespeare [illegible] unlock his heart in the [illegible] the novelist participates [illegible] detail of his: he is every[illegible] cause he has the extra [illegible] insight into the minds of [illegible] and yet, like God in [illegible] where.

This is a mutation of [illegible] tic idea of genius which [illegible] describes by implication [illegible] cussing the relations between [illegible] ture and power. For [illegible] imagination turns [illegible] quest of power, which [illegible] through the agency [illegible] ledge; hence the necess[illegible] tion from poetry to [illegible] which absorbs the exter[illegible] with the puissance and [illegible] Hazlitt describes, but [illegible] contracts that world to [illegible] the individual conscious[illegible] let's nutshell. Imagination [illegible] the artist, Hazlitt says, [illegible] "disinterested benevolen[illegible] which "the boundary of [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]cording to its pro[illegible] [illegible] centre — the

[illegible] the two kinds of [illegible] distinguished by [illegible]—the negative [illegible] Shakespeare, the [illegible]tistical sublime of [illegible]alized, because the [illegible]ously makes the [illegible] act of exploring it [illegible]sively into it. His [illegible] not self-propelling or [illegible] Shakespeare's, de[illegible]atist to control them, [illegible] every moment to the [illegible]ection: they only [illegible] as he examines them [illegible] them articulate. This [illegible] novel the self-reflex[illegible]antic irony: the poet [illegible] own limitations of per[illegible]skill, and thereby over[illegible] becomes the novelist [illegible] the psychological [illegible] characters and omnis[illegible]pleting their partial [illegible] Rousseau contempla[illegible] of action", as Pro[illegible] says, and this activity [illegible]valuation is the sub[illegible] *[illegible]tions on the Hero*, a [illegible] begins with the de[illegible]al that its origin was [illegible] school paper and which [illegible] throughout by an [illegible]tribute to other critics [illegible], intimidated manner [illegible]ate student, but which [illegible] displays considerable [illegible]ality.

[illegible] the usual division of [illegible]th century into blissful [illegible] and lingering Vic[illegible] (Biedermeier) afternoon, [illegible] argued that the hero [illegible]cline when novel sup[illegible]; but for Walter Reed [illegible] merely become subject [illegible] meditative strategies [illegible] ironic subterfuges. [illegible] romantic heroism is [illegible] being made the object [illegible] research by a narrator [illegible]ated but wary. As [illegible] and nervously [illegible] with the romping, [illegible] nephew of Rameau, [illegible] is observed by the [illegible] whose report is [illegible] blithe, sociable Lock[illegible] demonic Ahab is [illegible] analysed by Ishmael, [illegible]sessed by a parti[illegible] the other impar[illegible] the species; or [illegible] stardom of Gatsby [illegible] by the "provincial [illegible] Nick. The romantic [illegible]ness consists in a re[illegible]ally mimed in advance [illegible]ctory and incompetent [illegible]ndy and the muddling [illegible] submit himself to the [illegible]esses of the plot: he [illegible] Mr Reed says of Byron's [illegible] "his fate lies in his [illegible] rather than in the sym[illegible]causal neatness of art. [illegible]ds away the irrelevant [illegible] chooses his own death, [illegible] of the poem as incon[illegible] as Christ absenting him[illegible] celebrations in *Para*[illegible] and returning to the [illegible] private life. As the [illegible] in Byron's poem, "He's [illegible] Whither? I dread to think—but he is gone." The character jealously preserves his own integrity, asserting the right to stretch or wreck the work in which he is appearing in the interests of self-discovery. On his side the novelist or the narrator accredited by him dare not interfere, because they acknowledge their own incapacity for heroic action: theirs, as Kierkegaard says, is "the genius of recollection", responsible for recording the deeds of others. Living they leave to their characters.

These artists are meditating not so much on romantic heroes as on the very process of creating character — they are considering and fictionalizing the novelist's art of abstracting a part of himself and giving it independence and opacity, of uncovering mysterious, separate selves within the lucidity of his own intelligence. The whole exquisite pretence of the novel lies in the novelist's passing off his fantasies and self-interrogations as a picture of a diverse and busily complicated society. Like all thinking about character in the nineteenth century, the theme Mr Reed studies is entangled with the religion of Shakespeare, who achieved the miracle of self-contemplation — making over the subjective into complete, impenetrable objectivity — apparently without suffering the ironic romantic pains of self-division or wincing selfconsciousness. He simply became Iago and then he became Imogen, as Keats said.

But as the nineteenth century proceeds this casual alternation of identities comes to be interpreted as a neurotic state, a chaos of competing selves. The myriadness of mind which is so serene and harmonious in Coleridge's conception of Shakespeare has become a terrifying condition of mental instability. Dickens's successive transformations of himself into Little Nell and Quilp are a symptom of this imbalance, as is Kierkegaard's vacillation between antithetical masks, his inability to be himself unless under the protection of a pseudonym. Later in the century the ease with which Shakespeare could take on opposite identities is reinterpreted as a boast of aesthetic amoralism: to the artist, Wilde says, vice and virtue are as neutral as the colours on a painter's palette — "Iago may be morally horrible and Imogen stainlessly pure. Shakespeare, as Keats said, had as much delight in creating the one as he had in creating the other." Melville thinks of Shakespeare's characters as Kierkegaardian impostures: "Through the mouths of the dark characters of Hamlet, Timon, Lear, and Iago, he craftily says, or sometimes insinuates the things which we feel to be so terrifically true, that it were all but madness for any good man, in his own proper character, to utter, or even hint of them."

Melville's pantheon of utterly original characters includes Milton's Satan as well as Hamlet, and *Paradise Lost* might be seen as an anticipation of Mr Reed's meditative form, for it disposes of a variety of heroes and treats them sceptically in relation to one another. Satan is paradoxically its epic hero, conceived in the abrasiveness of parody since his own political design is a destructive parody of God's plan for nature. The complaint of Leverkühn in Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus*, "Why must I think that almost all, no, all the methods and conventions of art today *are good for parody only*?" covers the predicament of Satan, for in him the militaristic swagger of the wrathful Achilles or the embattled chieftains of northern saga reach an ironically wasteful culmination, since his fretfulness of will and treacherous facility in impersonation are the marks of his estrangement from God. Adam is at first a lyrical hero—unfallen he is a generic idea of humanity who sings canticles of patterned, generalized praise—and later a novelistic one: fallen, he acquires an intelligence and a character and he and Eve trudge out of the garden into the novels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries where their secular pilgrimage through the difficulties of history is described. God is the poem's intellectual hero whose foreknowledge imposes on his language the crabbed, riddling, witty deformity of syntax which is shared by the angelically lucid characters of Henry James; but he also assumes a certain kind of epic heroism when as the dictatorial satirist he exiles Satan with Sin and Death to the cesspools of limbo. Those figures are all contained inside the aesthetic heroism of Milton himself, the "one greater man" who supplants God by remaking the creation in art and supplants Christ by working out a justification of the divine system which completes Christ's act of redemption.

However, Milton can borrow for himself as a poet the powers and privileges of a god—his analysis of Satan's is God's analysis of him, whereas in the nineteenth century the direction of authority is reversed and, in cases like Lockwood on Heathcliff or Ishmael on Ahab, the point of view is that of the troubled human individual attempting to understand a creature who may be a god or may be a demon. Milton's set of heroes is arranged in a pyramid with the poet at the pinnacle; this is inverted in the nineteenth century, when the artist sentences himself to passivity and frees his characters to act on his behalf, and it is interesting that romantic critics of *Paradise Lost* saw in Milton's relation to Satan exactly the kind of fearful, half-envious response Mr Reed describes in Lockwood or Ishmael.

The hero's fate in the nineteenth century is not so much decline as decomposition. Praz sees him as succumbing to the corruptions of domestic comfort and sentimental vulnerability, but rather than this relaxation into dotage the hero is fragmented, subjected to formal controls and conditions, reflected by partial and contradictory points of view, unfolded into aspects. Although the nineteenth century is obsessed by character, its literature records the dissolution of character—or rather its transformation from object into subject, from diamond into carbon. Literature before the romantic period deals with characters who are seen as we see other people, in outline, equipped with humours, mannerisms, ruling passions; romantic art deals with characters who are perceived as we perceive ourselves, fluid, indefinite, immersed. No man is a hero to his valet; and no man is a character to himself.

The two processes of decomposition work in conjunction: the hero is democratized; and he is internalized—this is the reason for Hamlet's domination of the nineteenth century, for he is a tragic hero who knows he is not made for the exigencies and impostures of the role, and in worrying about his predicament he gives to heroism a new subjective meaning: nobility now consists not in taking arms but in mental suffering, patience and composure.

Romanticism continues to develop and to remake itself—in a portentously entitled "Concluding Unscientific Postcript" Mr Reed writes about "the twilight of the hero", but in the course of its westward expansion romanticism, reaching California, has rescued the hero for a new, fluorescent dawn. The hero has been reborn as the star. "To be a hero means to be one out of many, to be oneself", says Ortega y Gasset, and the star too becomes a hero not by doing anything but simply by existing, beautifully. The democratic enthusiasm of Melville is revived by one of our latter-day romantics, Andy Warhol, who looks forward to a time when heroism will become the inalienable right of every human being—in the future, he predicts, everyone will be world-famous, for fifteen minutes. When that happens, romanticism will indeed have reached its consummation.

The final plate of William Blake's The Song of Los, 1795: "*Los is seen with his blacksmith's hammer kneeling on a fiery cloud, contemplating the launching of his crimson sun of poetry into space*" *(Geoffrey Keynes). This illustration is taken from a facsimile reprint—on paper to match that used by Blake, and watermarked with his monogram—produced in France by the Trianon Press in a numbered edition (458 copies). It is distributed by Bernard Quaritch, London (£95).*

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Ghostly counsels

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PETER SCUPHAM :
Prehistories
56pp. Oxford University Press. Paperback, £1.95.

IAIN CRICHTON SMITH :
The Notebooks of Robinson Crusoe
91pp. Gollancz. £2.60.

NORMAN MacCAIG :
The World's Room
64pp. Chatto and Windus. Paperback, £1.50.

ROBERT GRAVES :
At The Gate
47pp. Bertram Rota. £6.

Though now in his early forties, Peter Scupham began to be noticed as a poet only a few years ago, first with a scatter of poems in the magazines, then with a pamphlet (*The Small Containers*) and a book (*The Snowing Globe*, in the Peterloo Poets series) both published in 1972. Just as Faber picked up Philip Larkin and Thom Gunn once their reputations had been made by small presses, so Oxford University Press have acquired Mr Scupham; in doing so, they have won a very impressive piece of property.

In a brief introduction to *The Small Containers*, Mr Scupham found in his most congenial poets a "serious gaiety, a tone fastidious and truthful", and said that in his own poems he preferred "to pare down rather than build up". This is borne out in *Prehistories*. One notices first how his language is chiselled, polished, and packed tight: writing about it, one is drawn to adopt his own type of exact, craftsmanlike terms of activity. Wit and solemnity sit compactly together, with true feeling—about the past, about mortality, about "what will survive of us"—given structure and balance by the ceremonious precision of his words and cadences:

The locked fires in her fractured
flint lie cool.

In the poem "A Cabinet of Curiosities" (the sort of thing Sloane and Ashmole cultivated), the earth itself is seen as donor or dealer:

Her price suits all means:
A few gift-wrapped bones.

And the continuity of the past is the very substance of the poems: "Ghosts are a poet's working capital", he says, in a tone which one takes to be as serious as it is sardonic.

There is nothing footlingly antiquarian about this; though many of the poems deal with the random ruins of time, such ruins are focused into the present, as in the caves at Rouffignac:

Kilroy was here,
Killing off mammoths,
Seven at a blow
On the nursery frieze.

The past gives us moral lessons, sermons in stones and so forth, but so does the present, in which there is seen

one self-sufficient tractor
Dragging the sullen landscape
down to earth.

The restoration of that dead metaphor "down to earth" is typical of Peter Scupham's imaginative control at its best. When it goes wrong, as it does occasionally, it is often because of a smooth emptiness, a little too satisfied with mellifluous verbal dovetailing. A vocabulary both wide and choice is sometimes over-exploited: the word "rubricate" in the poem "Ploughland" is surprising and yet exact, but when the same word appears in another poem ("Annotations"), it looks coy and precious. His use of a few words and constructions is repetitive: "most", for example, as an intensive superlative—"your most speaking silence", "my most faltering wordscape", "going most gentle", "with a most inward look", "your most immaculate landscape". These faults lie close to his virtues—virtues of eloquence and scrupulousness, and of a humane intelligence seriously engaged with serious matters.

The first section of Iain Crichton Smith's new book *The Notebooks of Robinson Crusoe* sets up a number of he/she, you/I situations, accommodating much circumstantial stuff but trimming it all neatly to the exigencies of formal verse in a way one has recognized before in his work: a fluent, civilized rhetoric, in danger of becoming too diffuse and ample. The second and third sections hold looser poems, often more casually glancing but with a pressure and momentum of their own. The real surprise of the book, though, is the title-piece, "The Notebooks of Robinson Crusoe", which makes up the final section. It is an assemblage or mosaic of fragments about isolation: from Crusoe, Mr Crichton Smith extrapolates his own fancied sensations, memories, broodings, grim or comic encounters, dreams, in a variety of prose and verse forms—lists, litanies, shaped or shapeless meditations. It is a risky enterprise, and not entirely successful, but one can feel an exuberant spirit of discovery and renewal in the way Mr Crichton Smith explores possibilities as they open to him. A sequence such as this can reveal strengths and weaknesses which a poet is often unaware of, and I felt that here the ways of confronting loneliness were liberating: a remote island childhood was something to be laughed at as well as to be glum about, before going back into "the vast cinéma of sensation".

In some of Norman MacCaig's recent work, he seemed to be moving away from the elegantly structured shapes he managed so well, and was disappointingly becoming a stringer-together of rather prosy *aperçus*. At times, *The World's Room* shows this:

That was the beginning
of an idea—what isn't
the beginning of an idea?

That is a disarming way of starting a poem, but if kept up it can exude a kind of slack charm which exhausts its welcome. Mr MacCaig is a whimsical poet, commemorating small moments of witty perception rather like a haiku poet with a sense of humour: about the way ringed plovers move, the way [illegible] calls and flies, a [illegible] twig. "Landscape and [illegible] gether well", he [illegible]. There is a darker side [illegible] hinted at, as in the [illegible] in which he imagines [illegible] away in dismay [illegible] wounds" he has [illegible] and grieving for [illegible] that comfortable [illegible] small predictions [illegible].

The best poems in [illegible] *Room* strike me as [illegible] as "Wordy Love Song [illegible] Are the Days", which [illegible] geniously with words [illegible] neatly, even [illegible] received forms. He [illegible] neatness to show [illegible] tage. Freer stuff [illegible] away in empty [illegible].

Admirers of Robert [illegible] probably annoyed [illegible] fortunate enough to [illegible] copies) that their [illegible] seems to come [illegible] clusively in slim [illegible] vast expense. At the [illegible] twenty short poems [illegible] of 500 numbered [illegible] and is not particularly [illegible] produced for its £6 [illegible] omic matters apart, [illegible] gathering of poems [illegible] *poems*, which could [illegible] ten by no one but [illegible] courtly, arrogant, [illegible] fastidious, bemused [illegible] Love Poem", "The [illegible] "Name" and the [illegible] among the ones to [illegible] reread, and "£.s.d." [illegible] didate to go among [illegible] called his "satires and [illegible]

Matters of concern

By Alasdair Maclean

JENNY JOSEPH :
Rose in the Afternoon
72pp. Dent. £1.

KAREN GERSHON :
My Daughters, My Sisters
64pp. Gollancz. £2.40.

ROGER GARFITT :
West of Elm
48pp. Cheadle : Carcanet New Press. £2.

RAY BRADBURY :
When Elephants Last in the Dooryard Bloomed
143pp. Hart-Davis, MacGibbon. £2.75.

GLORIA EVANS DAVIES :
Her Name Like The Hours
31pp. Chatto and Windus/The Hogarth Press. £1.

BRIGITTE HANF and [illegible] FULLER :
A Bestiary
28pp. 4 Benson Place, [illegible] more Press. £3.

PETER READING :
For The Municipality's [illegible]
64pp. Secker and [illegible] (paperback, £1.10).

M. K. JOSEPH :
Inscription on a Paper [illegible] Selected Poems 1945-[illegible]
84pp. Auckland [illegible] Oxford University Press.

LAURENCE LERNER :
A.R.T.H.U.R.
The Life and Opinions [illegible] Computer
66pp. Hassocks, Sussex: [illegible] vester Press. 65p.

We have, of course, no shortage of poets prepared to make genteel forays into the regions of the intellect and no shortage of poets in love with Dame Technique and shoving words at us through a screen as neatly and soullessly as a bank clerk shoves money. But of poets who both think and feel and can fuse the two in a poetry whose easy-flowing surface runs over an unobtrusively solid base we have precious few. I believe that Jenny Joseph quite often succeeds in being such a one. "I care about words", she says in a poem, "but mind more about life." These are concerned poems, filled at times with a savage pity:

Tender of time the solitary stares
Half out of door, clinging to the jamb
As if to shelter, who is never assailed
By any greeting.

Indeed, not a few of the poems in *Rose in the Afternoon* display a fairly naked emotion, unusual in a contemporary poetic that appears to prize reticence above all else. The danger here is that in striving for accuracy one may attain only sentimentality and I don't know that Miss Joseph always avoids this hazard. But it's a risk inherent in this type of poetry and no doubt a risk she accepts gladly. Her generally unfaltering assessment of it is evident in the generally high quality of her work.

An equally fine collection is Karen Gershon's *My Daughters, My Sisters*. Her last volume failed to make an impression on me and I was surprised on rereading it to find it composed of much the same sort of poem on much the same sort of subject. Perhaps she grows on one; perhaps I have become a better reader. She is a more private poet than Miss Joseph—to reach for the nearest comparison—and of a narrower range. These are exclusively personal poems, limited to the domestic circle. She is also cooller and more reined-in. Her work is so stripped down that formally and linguistically it could hardly be simpler. The only poetic device obvious here is a predilection for the extended metaphor (a device that Miss Gershon doesn't always get very happy results from). The complexity and richness of these poems come from the emotions they record so truthfully.

Roger Garfitt's *West of Elm* is the best of the other books. This is a first collection and a young man's work for that there's a degree of overwriting in it. "Spring Grazing", for instance, though one of the best poems, is yet crammed enough for two or three more economical poems. There is also in this volume a too-deliberate attempt to capture a contemporary idiom. Phrases like "the cold declensions of October light" or "spiders' bright escarpments" were never forced into being by the need to write poems but are rather the fag-ends of the experience of reading thousands of poems by other people. They are a form of literary convention; sanctioned ways of being poetic. But these are curable faults and not in any case prevalent. There are more than enough achieved poems here to make Mr Garfitt enjoyable and promising.

Ray Bradbury's *When Elephants Last in the Dooryard Bloomed* finds its subject-matter largely in a Norman Rockwell nostalgia. Appropriately enough, the poems in it are stilted and quaint in form and language, devoid of imagination and possessed of a truly stupefying tonal monotony. This must be one of the most boring collections ever printed. Mr Bradbury's science-fiction critics have been rambling on for years about his poetic qualities: they now have a grievous responsibility to bear.

Her Name Like the Hours is a very small book of short lyrics, mostly descriptive and mostly dealing with the clash between past and present in Wales. Gloria Evans Davies has a keen eye and an honest heart. These are attractive, unpretentious poems and one or two—for instance, "From Rallying Cries to Rallying Cries"—are a bit more than that.

Animal poetry, which one had thought was a honourable literary genre and certainly [illegible] ing somewhat older [illegible] commonly reputed [illegible] Hughes, has seemed [illegible] over-popular, lately [illegible] mentators. One [illegible] of ravenous [illegible] peaceable kingdom [illegible] into London, [illegible] poetic [illegible] as they come [illegible] *A Bestiary*, a [illegible] give the [illegible] well-produced [illegible] ing a short [illegible] Fuller and [illegible] Hanf. The [illegible] skill and delicacy [illegible] awkward and [illegible] Fuller's [illegible] mostly [illegible]

Peter Reading [illegible] is unloved [illegible] much of the [illegible] the future [illegible] ably, in a series [illegible] for little bits of [illegible] he writes, well [illegible] ter still if he [illegible] aesthetic [illegible] such a [illegible] weariness [illegible] nine you [illegible] than computer [illegible] dissatisfaction [illegible] would-be [illegible] more to offer [illegible] than [illegible] breath [illegible]

Inscription [illegible] comes [illegible] Hundred [illegible] right [illegible] else. These [illegible] conventionally [illegible] rather [illegible] A.R.T.H.U.R. [illegible] them. A.R.T.H.U.R. [illegible] poetic joke [illegible] sion sofa [illegible]

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The archives of poverty

By Robin Briggs

[OLWE]N H. HUFTON :
[The] Poor of Eighteenth-Century [Fran]ce, 1750-1789
[illegible] plus 7 illustrations. Clarendon Press: Oxford University [illegible] £9.

[illegible] lingering sentimentalism about [illegible] society in Europe before the [Industr]ial Revolution should be [illegible] pressed to survive the [appe]arance of *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789*. [illegible] ing this appalling tale of [illegible] among millions of ordinary [illegible], and of incompetence and [illegible] ility from those who tried to [illegible] with the problem, one shares [illegible] of the bewilderment of eighteenth-century would-be reformers. [illegible] basic cause of the situation [illegible] all too familiar in much of [illegible] world today: the balance between population, resources and [illegible] tion had gone disastrously [illegible]. Between the Regency of the [illegible] d'Orléans and the Revolution [the p]opulation of France increased [illegible] about 20 million to over 26 [illegible] without a comparable increase in the production of basic [illegible] stuffs. The swollen generation born in the decades between [illegible] and 1770, when the increase [illegible] to have been most rapid, [illegible] the victims of a downturn in [illegible] economy after 1770, which [illegible] problems that had [illegible] proved insoluble. Olwen [Hufton] estimates that in the last [illegible] of the *ancien régime* at [illegible] a third of the population [illegible] be classified as *pauvre* or [illegible]; even in a normal year [illegible] people probably needed some [illegible] from charity simply to subsist. [illegible] enormous majority of French [illegible] and women must have lived in [illegible] being reduced to this state, [illegible] barely one peasant in ten [illegible] enough land to feed his [illegible] without undertaking outside [illegible] often difficult to find and [illegible] badly paid.

[illegible] archives of France are bulging with information about the [illegible] of migrants, beggars and criminals who formed the visible evidence of poverty, [illegible] the less conspicuous but [illegible] important poor who [illegible] and within their native communities. This plethora of material [illegible] being exploited by French [illegible], painstakingly compiling [illegible] ical tables and analysing [illegible] edicts. With the partial [illegible] tion of J. P. Gutton's work on [illegible] yonnais this research has [illegible] so much an affair for the specialist that its impact has been rather muffled; at times the new brooms seem to be raising clouds of statistical dust which obscure the subject instead of clarifying it.

The great virtue of Professor Hufton's book is that she presents the reader with a general view, based on detailed research by herself and others, but never losing sight of the wider aspects of the subject. Within a relatively small number of pages she finds space for both the general and the particular; a peculiarly diverse topic is treated in an orderly and systematic fashion, and illustrated by a mass of individual and local cases. Professor Hufton sometimes appears reluctant to press her general conclusions too far, and touches only lightly on some aspects of the question; this is obviously a deliberate policy, and a very defensible one. By keeping the book moving fast, and preferring vivid examples to elaborate general theorizing, she has managed to remain both lively and thought-provoking.

It would be wrong to give the impression that Professor Hufton ignores the statistical material; she includes a considerable number of very pertinent calculations, showing the scale of the need and the inadequacy of the response. This evidence points inexorably to the basic fact that the problem was insoluble within the economic and social constraints of the time. The agrarian economy was highly seasonal in its labour demands, and much of rural France was so overpopulated that the male population had to spend almost all the year away from home. This rural poverty was one of the factors which restricted the market for industrial production, limiting employment in this sector of the economy.

It is true that a very small proportion of the population—less than 5 per cent—enjoyed a very high share of national wealth, but even some unlikely move towards redistribution would have been a two-edged sword. In a society where consumer goods were so limited in range, the rich spent a large part of their incomes employing people, and even their purchases of luxuries provided jobs. As Professor Hufton's earlier study of Bayeux revealed, such unpopular parasites as cathedral chapters actually spent a great deal in the urban community; their disappearance during the Revolution was to bring hardship and disaster to many thousands of people. The greatest of all profiteers, the crown,

Engravings from Bouchardon's "Cries of Paris" reproduced in The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France.

was also the largest employer; most of its free income was spent on the armed forces and the judiciary. The injection of large sums of money into the charitable system would have been a worthwhile enterprise, but it could never have been more than a palliative.

On this last point the Enlightenment critics of traditional Catholic poor relief were correct, but in general they emerge as both prejudiced and ignorant. They saw begging and vagrancy as the result of moral delinquency, and thought that the giving of alms merely encouraged this. The economic difficulties of the *hôpitaux* were blamed on the corruption and incompetence of their administration, whereas Professor Hufton shows that they suffered from a chronic lack of funds, accentuated by the decline in donations after the end of the seventeenth century. Concentrating as she does on the situation from the viewpoint of the poor themselves, Professor Hufton does not go very deeply into the attitudes of the privileged classes, and there is clearly room for more work on this aspect. Her evidence does suggest that, at the very time during the 1770s and 1780s when the position was worsening rapidly, the charitable institutions were coming under pressure from the authorities to control their mounting deficits, and many actually had to cut back on the relief they provided.

By this time the care of foundlings by *hôpitaux* and wet-nurses had become a form of legalized infanticide, an extreme expression of a Malthusian situation. This was just one symptom of accelerating social breakdown, with the spread of the great robber bands, increasing mortality among adults as well as children, more widespread migration and industrial unemployment, and declining real wages. Seen from this angle, the crisis of the *ancien régime* was a great deal more than just a collapse of government finance. The poor did not make the Revolution, and were among the chief sufferers from its immediate effects, yet their plight was one of the most important factors in discrediting the government in the eyes of the political classes. The pathetic inadequacies of the *maréchaussée*, the courts and the *dépôts de mendicité* were telling indictments, at the local level, of a system which seemed less and less capable of protecting the stable members of society against the importunities and violence of the poor.

One of the most striking features of poverty, as described in this book, was its regional basis. This resulted, in large part, from the massive immobility of peasant society; distinguished by speech, dress and customs, the inhabitants of different regions and even different villages occupied closed communities. Migration was only possible under certain conditions, normally to seek seasonal work or to move into the towns, unless one joined the hopeless army of vagrants who had lost all touch with their place of origin. To be cut off from one's community in this way was to lose the protection of a very powerful tradition of mutual help and protection, which operated among immigrants to the towns as well as in the villages. In the more fortunate areas of France this system still held good on the eve of the Revolution, and here only a major harvest failure like 1788-89 would push people out on to the roads; in ordinary times the poor of these villages would be supported through the hard times of the spring and early summer by local charity, normally organized by the *curé*.

As Professor Hufton demonstrates, one of the consequences of the growth in both the numbers and the violent behaviour of the wandering poor was to damage this apparently resilient structure, since the small farmer could not afford to satisfy the demands of both vagrants and neighbours. She suggests that in one region, the Beauce, things had gone so far that the bands of vagrants were on top, and operated a variety of protection rackets and blackmail against the isolated farms characteristic of the area. Here one would have liked more statistics, for, although the seriousness of the problem is beyond dispute, there remains some obscurity about just how often an individual was likely to suffer, and how wide the area affected was.

In describing the behaviour of robber bands like the *bande Hulain*, the widespread practice of *salt and tobacco smuggling*, and the despairing resort of many girls to prostitution, Professor Hufton maintains a remarkably dispassionate tone, constantly reminding the reader of the harsh necessities which led to such conduct, but never endowing it with false glamour. As she points out, such renowned popular heroes as the smugglers Mandrin and Cartouche were brutal and self-seeking, and the victims of the *bandes* were usually themselves on the edge of poverty. In this harsh world most help was eventually self-help, and for many life was a constant struggle for mere survival; such conditions are inevitably corrosive of both moral principles and personal relationships. They also made prudence an impossible virtue, since every choice involved an enormous element of risk; to marry or beget an additional child was to take a major gamble, assuming responsibilities one might well be unable to fulfil.

A society which could offer its poorer members so little had no right to be surprised if they presented it with a series of baffling problems, or burst out into sporadic violence. Historians have been aware of the general nature of the situation for some time, but there has still been a persistent tendency to underestimate its scale. Not the least of the reasons for welcoming this excellent book is that Professor Hufton has reminded us afresh of the degree to which the problem of the poor was everybody's problem in late eighteenth-century France.

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Poor man's highbrows

By James Blish

BRIAN W. ALDISS and HARRY HARRISON (Editors) :
Hell's Cartographers
246pp and 5 illustrations. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £3.50.

This collection of autobiographical essays by six moderately to well-known science fiction writers now in their fifties is concerned chiefly with what it was like growing up devoted to a para-literature or commercial genre widely assumed to be beneath notice and probably despicable as well, and into an era which has begun to believe that science fiction is not only worth reading but may also be of some social or even mythological importance; a rather disquieting transition (however gratifying) for writers who had been told for most of their lives that they served only Grub Street, and that their belief that they might also be doing something better was ridiculously pretentious.

The six writers are Messrs Aldiss and Harrison themselves, Robert Silverberg, Alfred Bester, Damon Knight, and Frederik Pohl. On their behalf and his own, Brian Aldiss says in his introduction:

> We are an entirely new sort of popular writer, the poor man's highbrows. We wrote against the grain and were accepted against it. There is a certain emphasis on finance in our memoirs, and with reason: for the smaller the payment, the larger it looms. We had faith in what we were doing; individualists though we were, it transpired that the faith virtually created a movement.

A good case could be made for regarding modern science fiction as a literary movement, strongly resembling surrealism or imagism, though not yet quite as seminal: it is not the case, hinted at above by Mr Aldiss and emphasized by other contributors, that the stuff must be good because it now sells so well.

Mr Silverberg complains of the difficulty of writing autobiography:

> Apparently one should not name the names of those one has been to bed with, or give explicit figures on the amount of money one has earned, those being the two data most eagerly sought by readers; all the rest is legitimate to reveal.

As a lifelong professional he must surely know that both kinds of reticence are dictated by the need to stay clear of slander, libel and violation of privacy—and to keep a low profile towards the income tax authorities. But Mr Silverberg subscribes to the superstition that large sales indicate high quality, and it is clear from what he says here that he is one of those popular artists who are made a little happier by being able to announce in public that they cried all the way to the bank.

Not that this is all there is to his essay, which has a great deal to say about the kind of growing up absurd to which the entire volume is dedicated. His story is that of a writer with faith in his own gifts, who for decades kept his nose to the most horrible sort of commercial grindstone, and amazingly, became a millionaire in that way. But he is also eager to show us that all those years of hackwork did not burn out his brain or stultify his creative impulse. He does this primarily by telling us about recent works of his that he himself admires—but also by adducing all the awards and prizes that this work has won, or been short-listed for. This is not, of course, very different from the argument from earnings, but Mr Silverberg's essay shows why he—and many other SF writers—grew up to argue that way; and when he speaks of his faith in the genre, and in his contribution to it, he is describing an attitude which is of even greater historical interest.

Damon Knight follows Mr Silverberg in assuming that readers are keenly interested in whom one has been to bed with; and should you want an account of the very complex cross-marrying that went on in American science fiction from about 1948, you could put it together easily from Mr Knight's reminiscences, together with small bits of Harry Harrison's (though I do not see why you should). Much of the rest of his text describes what New York science fiction circles were like in other ways during this period: since I was there at the time, I can vouch for his accuracy. I wish, however, that he could have been persuaded to say at least something good of the dead, let alone the living.

The four remaining authors give better performances—Mr Aldiss in particular—but it is probably Mr Bester's that will be most prized. His creative work is widely admired, increasingly so in this country, but until now he has been quite reticent about himself.

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Wholly other

By Eric Korn

PHILIP K. DICK :
The Man in the High Castle
221pp. Gollancz. £3.20.

IAN WATSON :
The Jonah Kit
221pp. Gollancz. £2.60.

"... and so you will never see me again." There was no signature. Nervously Prudence crumpled the envelope which bore in the top left-hand corner a crisp pair of Queen Victoria 1883 lilac, with 12x13½ perforations and the inverted VR monogram (SG 1675). Little did she know that the error would be detected after only eleven sheets had been issued from Morecambe Post Office.

This passage from the fortunately imaginary work *Tête-Bêche*, a classic of the philatelic novel (known in the trade as "stampers"), illustrates the way convention in the genre novel may compact into fetishism. Yet it is not a quantitative matter: *Moby Dick* is not a sea story, though it packs more data than a small manual of cetology. It is the readership that institutionalizes a theme into a genre. Science fiction suffers acutely from its institutions and also from self-conscious doubts about the nature of the secret additive. For most readers above the asteroid-western level the desideratum is otherness — and physicists, late as usual, have designated "strangeness" as one of the fundamental properties of the universe. But the problem remains of expounding a sufficiently exotic donnée and still leaving room for a novel.

Philip K. Dick's *Man in the High Castle*, which since 1962 has acquired a certain stature but is published here for the first time in hard cover, has a datum which can be stated in six words: suppose America had lost the war. The alternative present is richly textured and satisfying: the benign if condescending Japanese overlords, the infiltration of the victors' attitudes into the defeated. The development is pure Nouveau Roman: in the tenuously independent Mountain States a book is published which hypothesizes a present in which the Allies have won the war. The interplay between the three realities (counterpointed ... the real—or ... native America... Japanese so ... beautifully realised ... science fiction ... a science fiction ... of reality were ... would include ... *Zenda* or *The Th*...

Ian Watson's ... extreme, has a ... first book, *The Em*... the promising ... tics. Lavishly, he ... separate exotic ... mental sot acqua... recursive gramma... expanded language ... tribe; and a ... terrestrials who ... language fanciers ... impact, nothing ... Watson can ... minds across a ... in the nature of ... describe it.

Jonah Kit is ... speculation, ... realization. ... imaginative themes ... space available to ... coalesce. In Japa... Russian defector ... dead astronaut; ... ian astronomer ... lactic radio sources ... proving that the ... know it has never ... that it existed for ... after the Big Bang ... ing somewhere ... taking God with it. ... the world's already ... lation is understand... the human mind ... meanwhile the ... the galaxies is ... abyssal grunts ... various species ... spermwhale, who ... tumour an artifi... human psyche, is ... cry of help from the ... to his fellow cetace... habit of putting the... (whales do, actually... higher order of ... time all this meets ... of novel; and the ... reader are alike ... the characters exist ... the exposition up ... of dialogue, and ... attributes stuck ... feathers in a hat. The ... thetic character is ... more cetaceous he ... understand what ... about.

It's later than you think

By T. A. Shippey

WILSON TUCKER :
Ice and Iron
181pp. Gollancz. £2.50.

PHILIP STRICK (Editor) :
Antigrav
184pp. Hutchinson. £2.95.

T. J. BASS :
The Godwhale
306pp. Eyre Methuen. £3.70.

JAMES BLISH :
The Quincunx of Time
112pp. Faber and Faber. £2.50.

The future is happening already: this is one of the ideas that science fiction writers try to frighten us with, and the basis of Wilson Tucker's *Ice and Iron*. One half of it tells us that a new Ice Age has already begun, that the glaciers will be soon marching on Manitoba; the other half that things keep dropping out of the sky and are ignored or pooh-poohed by establishment scientists. Mr Tucker puts the two ideas together by saying that the things from the sky are the debris of a future conflict whose shape post-Ice Age geology determines. This does not have quite the right ring of plausibility; why isn't there more jetsam from different parts of the future? Why should the future war that causes it all be a sex war? But the story's real centre of interest is landscape, the way it is shaped and the way it can be read; for twenty years Mr Tucker has had few rivals at describing winter survival struggles on the nearly featureless Midwest plains,

Philip Strick tries to rattle us in a different way in the introduction to *Antigrav*, by mixing boast with threat and wheedle. Science fiction writers are "the only ones who know what's going on any more", and what they write is "the most exciting and the most important writing to be found anywhere in this world". It is perhaps in that case rather modest of them to let their work resound "with irony and good clear laughter". *Antigrav* (as the venerable pun in its title indicates) is in fact a collection of comic short stories. After the introduction, it is a surprise to find that it is as good a collection as one could hope for.

This is largely because the authors directly contradict their editor's opinions. Barry Malzberg's "A Delightful Comedic Premise" has as its centre the ill-paid and tragic nature of the science fiction writer's life. Everyone wants doom stories, but no one takes them seriously. This is an acute diagnosis, for at least five of the other stories base their comedy on watching men lose to machines—cars or computers or androids or automatic houses. Ron Goulart's story, "Hardcastle", is the best of this kind because he brings in sex: while the husband tries to master the house, the house seduces the wife.

There is another good alien seduction scene in R. A. Lafferty's "By the Seashore", as young Oliver turns from his Brenda to the delights of milt and roe and tidewater, as promised by his seashell friend. This would not have been allowed in the E. E. Smith or "the galaxy is just like Podunk, Ohio" school of science fiction. But that has now, at last, slipped into the comic domain; Harry Harrison's parody of it goes beneath plot and even style to its simple moral inadequacy. I am only sorry that he did not ... nic, blaster-waving ... "good clear laughter".

The Godwhale, ... no designs on us. ... far future where ... known as the Hive, ... all the land-masses ... its sewage and ... troyed nearly all ... There is a moral ... Bass realizes, it ... need stating; ... tween the Hive and ... which is at the ... has no more than ... social point of Wells ... locks, but just ... imaginative charge ... for Mr Bass supp... Wells could not ... *The Godwhale* is ... splendid side-issue ... is too inventive ... ized, too full of ... independent life. ... the grisliness ... Ellison's "New Wave ... has an unusual ... sary knowledge, ... pline to bind it ... purposes.

The way James Blish ... in print shows ... share his enthusiasm ... ual matters. It's ... most people, ... important, problems ... would say, inflation ... or the bomb, Mr ... what is "downright" ... issue of free will ... There is little ... novel and its ... us to Thomas Kuhn ... *ture of Scientific* ... Mr Blish's readers ... to find, that it ... for free will ... on which it is based ...

...ting out aliens

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...and Boris Strugatski are ...one a linguist and the other ...ooper. They are also well-...cience fiction writers in the ...Union and some of their ...are already been translated ...glish. *Hard to be a God* is ...exciting adventure, but ...teresting for its ideas on ...olution, which show the ...work in *Star Trek* or *2001* ...willing to meddle in aliens' ...than Captain Kirk, less able ...as he would like than Stan-...rick's black slab. Don Rum-...Russian hero, is sent to a ...a fairly savage state of ...in order to observe it and ...to help it to evolve towards ...and social justice. The ...immerses himself in his ...where he fears his advanced ...culture is slipping from ...classic dilemma inherent ...of interfering in history, ...woodish melodrama of ...the action is balanced by a ...Hibernian vibration which is ...ish or crudely optimistic.

Edwin Morgan

Indian identities

By J. G. Farrell

PAUL SCOTT :
A Division of the Spoils
597pp. Heinemann. £4.90.

With the publication of *A Division of the Spoils*, the last part of his Indian tetralogy, Paul Scott brings to its conclusion a literary endeavour of impressive dimensions. A less ambitious author might well have considered any one of these four hefty volumes, for the intellectual effort it represents, a major work. Nor has Mr Scott written this long fiction by locking himself into a state of imaginative overdrive, as many writers of long books do (including some of the best: *Catch-22*, for example). On the contrary, if you discount a few signs of weariness in the third volume, each small part of this heroic enterprise is as freshly imagined, as earnestly thought out, as the first mere couple of hundred pages. New locations are no less carefully detailed in the last volume; when new characters appear they are still painstakingly substantiated; old characters are not permitted to coast along without appropriate signs of age and change to match the evolving political scene: by 1947 Sarah Layton, once something of a beauty, has acquired a pad of flesh beneath her chin—a less scrupulous writer might well have left her as she was.

Novelists who have written about India have very often used the country as a means of expressing whatever it was they wanted to say about some other matter, or about life in general. The India of Forster's *A Passage to India* could be seen as the most successful vehicle he found for ideas common to his other work. An Indian lady once confessed to me that she thought Forster did not really understand Indians: she did so apologetically, aware that such a notion might appear shocking and heretical to me. In Mr Scott's novels there is no doubt but that India herself is at the very centre of the stage, though chiefly in her relations with the British. In the past three volumes we looked on at India's troubled search for a national identity: an identity sought through its reflection in the eyes of the watching British whose culture and institutions had done a good deal to obliterate it. The predicament of Hari Kumar (Harry Coomer, the "brown Englishman", whose supposed rape of an English girl in the first volume precipitated so many of the heart-searchings to follow) was that he was too English for the Indians, too Indian for the English. Now at last one of the watching British can say of Hari: "Frankly, I think he's more interested in being just his own kind of Indian." Now, too, the police officer, Merrick, who from being a narrow-minded disciplinarian in the first volume has gradually revealed himself to us as a pathological case, is destroyed, blown off like a safety valve by the expansive forces of independence.

Merrick is one of the outstanding achievements of this work: by the time we reach *A Division of the Spoils* he has acquired a mechanical arm and one side of his face is disfigured, a metamorphosis which seems very shocking in the work of Mr Scott, who habitually eschews gothic effects and writes very close to what, dodging metaphysical quibbles, I shall call the reality of everyday life. Merrick has become a monster to rank with the Master of Ballantrae. That does not mean to say that the author has abandoned his careful exposition of character: the opening section of *A Division of the Spoils*, in which Sergeant Perron, a tough-minded and detached observer of British India, meets Merrick at a party, reveals the characters of both men with admirable subtlety. There is another passage that seems to me as finely observed as any in the entire work: that in which Sarah Layton, accompanying her father home by train after his release from a Japanese prison camp, attempts to re-establish emotional contact with him—a sequence that has the unusual virtue of being moving without being pathetic.

It will undoubtedly take some time before we can make a just assessment of Mr Scott's vast tetralogy, of its strengths and weaknesses. It must be said, however, whether you consider this a weakness or not, that the work is not easy to read. Mr Scott makes few concessions to the reader and those he does make—for example, the harking back to explain what happened at the Bibighar Gardens—can be irritating (though no doubt necessary to give some independence to each volume). And demanding as the work already is for someone interested in India, there is a risk that the reader without such an interest will find it claustrophobic. Once or twice, too, I felt that the rape incident was too trivial, relatively, to support the weight placed on it in the overall design. Finally, does the third volume, *The Towers of Silence*, as it seems to me, temporarily lose its energy? Reader fatigue rather than loss of grip by the author must clearly be taken into account here.

Yet had a work of this quality been written fifty years ago, by now I feel sure it would have its established place in English literature. Its two great and time-resisting virtues are, first, the extraordinary range of characters it so skilfully portrays and, secondly, its powerful evocation of the last days of British India, now quietly slipping away into history.

Hobo sapiens

By Jane Miller

GILBERT PHELPS :
The Low Roads
215pp. Barrie and Jenkins. £2.95.

Aging, and the retrospects it occasions, is the central theme of Mr Phelps's fiction, and many of his plots are mapped out like blueprints for some kind of rebirth, either through a reworking of memories or by a consideration of quite new ways of life. In this novel, a middle-aged man, whose second marriage has gone sour and whose career as a cartoonist is dwindling, suddenly leaves home on a bicycle and becomes a tramp. It is less a decision than a movement of disgust at a lifetime's possessions, his wife's coin-like curls and the echoes and implications of his own admonitions to his stepson to face reality and get his hair cut. It is hard at first to bear the discomfort, and the jeering of the professionals. He has to learn how to shamble and mumble, play the part. Mysteriously deprived of choice of direction, he finds himself compelled on to a route ordained by the wandering life and its accretions: the girls who help down-and-outs and sometimes try to return them to society, the hippies who ape them, the photographers who snap them.

Early in his travels he meets a tramp called Sam, who is possessed by opaque and mystical convictions about the goals of the alternative life. Mr Phelps's hero is led by Sam through the underworld and introduced to its milestones: haunts of meths-drinkers, hostels, caves, derelict sites, pop festivals. The journey is picaresque and allegorical. Everyone met on the road turns up again, sometimes heading in the opposite direction. The route runs parallel to the more familiar one and has its own rules and signposts and coincidences. He revisits bits of his past and gets to know what his world is like without him in it, as if he were dead.

For a moment he is in danger of being sucked back into the old life: a stint as a pavement artist becomes a commercial success in the hands of a man who once gave him a lift in a Jaguar. The exigencies of the venture nearly destroy Sam, and both he and the hero crack up and are given electric shock treatment. They escape to the roads again and almost die in a cave which collapses on them. Their emergence from this is miraculous, a breech delivery into a life where hope and freedom are possible because death has been faced.

In the past, Gilbert Phelps has described individual lives whose peaks and slopes derived from intense physical sensation. Sexual love shaped, in fantasy and memory, the rest of life. The landscape is flatter here, the peaks reduced to humps: the rubbing of filth-stiffened seams on the legs, the tickle of unwashed hair, the thunderous effect of food or drink or smoke on an empty body. Memory operates as a check and a reminder of pain and error. The view is cut down to the ditch and the gutter, though none the less sharply seen. Mr Phelps is never embarrassed by the failures and humiliations of age: indeed, his comic and touching records of private disaster are shaped by a quite unfashionable optimism.

Brewers' yeast

By Richard Usborne

TOM SHARPE :
Blott on the Landscape
234pp. Secker and Warburg. £2.90.

When Sir Giles Lynchwood, MP, was incautiously eaten by lions in the game park that his wife had hurriedly had fenced out and stocked, their gardener-handyman, Blott, won the by-election and married Lady Maud, Sir Giles's far-from-sorrowing widow.

But I see I have gone too fast. Let me back-pedal and take Tom Sharpe's novel the way it is written instead of looking at the last pages first. Sir Giles was a pompous ass, a crook and a regular visitor to the St John's Wood flat of Mrs Forthby, who amiably and inattentively gave him the binding and whipping routines from which he got his sexual jollies. Lady Maud, from earliest honeymoon nights, had had little patience with these demands of her husband's, and soon saw that they would never generate an heir to the Handyman brewing inheritance and Handyman Hall, her ancestral home. By the marriage settlement the Handyman estate belonged now to Sir Giles but would revert to Lady Maud if he died without an heir or was divorced for misconduct. Sir Giles, foreseeing vast compensation for "his property" if the motorway came across it, intrigued mightily and tortuously for the motorway to come exactly there. His wife, Lady Maud, intrigued mightily and tortuously against it, and against him. A judge, a Whitehall civil servant bore, a few solicitors and some fools who imagined that an Englishman's home is his castle got mixed up in the tangle of wires and dirty work being pulled. Lady Maud got photographs of Sir Giles, dressed as a baby, tied to a bed. Someone photographed the Whitehall bore doing something, not clearly specified, to or with a girl, sent there for the purpose, after a lot of drinking at the golf club. And Blott, the gardener, German-born, Italian PoW, voice-mimic, engineer, hoarder of weapons, telephone-tapper and British patriot, married his mistress, as stated above, and got his name in the title of the book.

An Ealing-type comedy (preferably with Alastair Sim in it somewhere), the book goes at a gallop from absurdity to absurdity. It laughs at death: in addition to bad Sir Giles being eaten by lions, a blameless character dies, to the amusement of all, in his own house when the crane swings the crushing ball of demolishment at the house, to make way for the road. Rude words (or that rude word) pepper the stew. Who'll play Lady Maud? Glenda Jacques? Hattie Jackson? It's a fat part; and there's a happy ending with, I think, that heir on the way, to be surnamed Blott.

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ESPAÑA

The State and the Universities

By Henry Kamen

RICHARD L. KAGAN:
Students and Society in Early Modern Spain
278pp. Johns Hopkins University Press (IBEG). £7.40.

MARIANO PESET and JOSE LUIS PESET:
La Universidad española
Siglos XVIII y XIX. Despotismo ilustrado y revolución liberal
807pp. Madrid: Taurus.

The closure this year of the University of Valladolid by the Spanish government raises again the spectre of a clash between the state and the organs of higher education. At least since 1956 the Spanish universities have been experiencing a crisis that goes far beyond mere conflict over administrative control and intellectual dissent. More to the point, they have begun to inquire into their entire role in modern Spanish society. In an essay seven years ago Laín Entralgo expressed "our profound dissatisfaction with the contemporary university for the inadequate way in which it fulfils its triple didactic, scientific and moral function". The complaint is, in its essentials, one that has been made repeatedly in Spain over the past 400 years.

What emerges clearly from *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* and *La Universidad española* is that probably never in its long career has the Spanish university found its true identity. No precedents exist in Spanish history for the type of institution currently envisaged by progressive professors and students. In the fifteenth century they looked to Italian, in the nineteenth to European, models; now they hope to learn also from the United States. At a time when the very existence of the university is being threatened (not only in Spain but also here in England) by state policy, student dogmatism and catastrophic inflation, it is instructive to see how they did things in earlier times.

Richard L. Kagan's lucid and well-documented book is devoted to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He has laboured principally in the matriculation registers of universities, and has also been through a very great number of archives all over Spain. His work is a pioneering study of very great importance, and a major contribution to our knowledge of early modern Spain. Habsburg Castile, which is his central theme, was a poor, relatively backward country with a rudimentary culture. Illiteracy was high: as late as 1901 it was in the region of 63 per cent. The noble classes were from the end of the fifteenth century introduced to Renaissance scholarship in the Italian style. But their education remained superficial, and they seem to have been in general hostile to the spread of secondary education, which diverted their peasants "from the jobs and occupations in which they were born and raised". Despite some drawbacks, in the early sixteenth century an expansion occurred at the highest level of education, in the universities.

Between 1474 and 1600, twenty-seven new universities were established in Spain, bringing the total to thirty-three. Most of these were in northern Castile and Catalonia, where the centres of population and business lay. At the same time colleges were created within the universities: Salamanca had two in 1500, thirty by 1600. Pride of place went to the cream of these colleges, the six *colegios mayores*, of which four were in Salamanca, one in Valladolid, and one in Alcalá. These had higher academic standards and richer funds, making them natural providers of the nation's elite. Many of the new universities were founded by prelates of the Church. But they remained, at least during the sixteenth century, fundamentally secular institutions, in which instructors did not have to be clergymen. A distinctively Spanish feature of all the early foundations is that they were college-universities, in which the core group of scholarship students not only elected the rector and council who governed the university, but also eventually dominated the teaching posts.

The expansion in higher education was impressive. In the sixteenth century Salamanca had about 5,000-7,000 matriculands a year, Alcalá about 3,000. At the end of the same century, a total of about 15,000 students a year were registered at university. Dr Kagan calls this an "educational revolution", and suggests that "Castile was possibly the most educated society in Western Europe at that time". These claims need to be treated with great care. The phrase "educational revolution" is a hallmark of Lawrence Stone, and gains no credibility by being used too readily.

Was the university of the sixteenth century intended to promote the New Learning? This was indeed the intention of the founding fathers, and notably of Cardinal Cisneros. But already by the time of Philip II students who went to university had other aspirations. "The love of letters brings only a few to the colleges", reported one official in 1638. Two years previously, a writer claimed that "the principal aim of the colleges is more political than spiritual because most of the colegiales are training for the royal service". The thousands of young men who thronged the halls of academe in the sixteenth century were there because only a qualification in law opened the way to employment.

The greater part of Dr Kagan's study is devoted to the way in which the universities became little more than a training-ground for the bureaucracy of Castile. It is possible, surely, to argue in the light of this that the alleged revolution in the university was bureaucratic rather than educational. The Spanish university changed consciously, in the hands of both crown and students, into little more than a source of officials for the "new monarchy". Graduates vied for chairs knowing that this gave them a stepping-stone to office, then abandoned their chairs in rapid succession when the right job came up. One life-tenure chair in canon law at Salamanca had six successive holders in the six years 1670-76. The figures for turnover in chairs, carefully compiled by Dr Kagan, reveal a prolonged *trahison des clercs* on the part of Castilian academics; a *trahison* in which intellectual attainment counted for little and public employment for all.

Yet the Habsburg university was betrayed not only by venal bureaucracy. It was poisoned by its own exclusivism. The elitist *colegios mayores* attracted the best students away from the university, so contributing to the decline of the latter. In their turn, the colleges failed to justify their favoured position. Monopolized by a small number of families who in turn monopolized the highest bureaucratic posts, the colleges increased in size, wealth and influence, but educational standards became a thing of the past. Various measures of reform in the late eighteenth century led to their eventual suppression in 1798.

Meanwhile the university declined. There were no new foundations in Castile between 1620 and 1836. The arts faculty in Salamanca in 1648 was described as "totally lost". By the mid-eighteenth century all the Castilian universities together had little more than an annual average of 6,000 students. Dr Kagan offers some convincing reasons for the decline. Families with little interest in bureaucratic preferment began to send their sons to the private Jesuit and other colleges. Many venal administrative offices (called *de capa y espada*) did not usually require university education. Economic problems were also a major factor: one official in 1638 blamed "the rising cost of living". The effect all this had on the curriculum was foreseeable. The great humanist ideals of the late fifteenth century perished as, in the seventeenth, chairs of Greek, mathematics and Hebrew were suppressed because there were no students.

The rebirth of the Spanish university took place thanks to the aspirations of the Bourbon Enlightenment. There were already signs of welcome change, notably in the medical school at Valencia. But the real momentum came from above, from the state. This is the basic theme of *La Universidad española* by Mariano and José Luis Peset. Their book is devoted to the administration, control and evolution of the university relative to the state in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first two radical steps taken by the ministers of Charles III were the gradual suppression of the privileges of *colegios mayores*, and the expulsion in 1766 of the Jesuits. In 1769 the Council of Castile, the principal organ of government, took over direction of all universities and began introducing the reforms proposed by Pablo de Olavide. A famous memoir by Francisco Pérez Bayer, former Salamanca professor and now royal tutor, called *For the Liberty of Spanish Literature*, opened the attack on the colleges. During these years government intervention took the form mainly of introducing changes in the curriculum and regulating appointments to chairs. Fundamental reforms were delayed by the French Revolution.

The transfer of the decayed university of Alcalá to Madrid in 1836, and its reconstitution as the Central University, opened a major epoch of reform. The Liberal concept of change in higher education involved total state control, as the authors demonstrate by their analysis of the several measures undertaken, notably the law of 1845 and in particular the law of 1857 (the *ley Moyano*) to which they assign fundamental importance. The internal consequences of this control were clear in three major respects: the rector and senior functionaries were to be appointed directly by the state; all chairs were to be competed for not in local tribunals (*oposiciones*) as hitherto, but in a central one held in Madrid; control over students was exercised by the standardization of examinations. These three remain basic features of the Spanish university of today. It followed—and this, in education above all, was to become the most bitter ground of contention—that a Liberal state could shake off the virtual monopoly of teaching posts that the religious orders had gained for themselves during the era of decline. The role of the Church became threatened through the removal of teachers and the [illegible] secularist curricula [illegible]

The year of the [illegible] 1857, was also that [illegible] del Rio opened [illegible] Krausism at the Central [illegible] "Krausism became the [illegible] for the renewal of [illegible] Spanish universities" [illegible] remind us. Sanz del Río [illegible] the legislative reform [illegible] remains", he said in a [illegible] ture, "is for this [illegible] receive within it the [illegible] ence". But this [illegible] sity signally failed [illegible] Pesets do not give [illegible] nation of why standards [illegible] and learning failed [illegible]

Their book is too [illegible] on official legislation [illegible] temporary comment, [illegible] social analysis, to be [illegible] an answer. Certainly [illegible] popular explanation [illegible] was that state control [illegible] demic innovation. "[illegible] fessional and university [illegible] Spain?' a foreigner [illegible] me", reported Unamuno [illegible] reply that our [illegible] administrative gazette".

It was the Catholic [illegible] notably Balmes, who [illegible] bring new life into [illegible] intellectual atmosphere [illegible] versity. At the same time [illegible] began to wake up [illegible] free themselves from [illegible] to make contact with [illegible] Pesets emphasize the [illegible] tance of "the night of [illegible] April 1865, when a [illegible] students and soldiers [illegible] symbolized the beginning [illegible] break between the university [illegible] state, and in effect [illegible] the university problem [illegible] 1868 Ruiz Zorrilla [illegible] cational aims of the [illegible] ment after the glorious [illegible] that drove Isabella II [illegible] complete freedom of [illegible] tion from both state [illegible] This too—the mythic [illegible] was to be considered [illegible] y Nadal and [illegible] in contemporary [illegible] illusion.

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[illegible] university also eliminated [illegible] power. In sixteenth-[illegible] Castile, most university [illegible] were elected by the [illegible] though in the course of [illegible] century the Council [illegible] removed this power. The [illegible] continued at Saragossa into [illegible] century. Deprived [illegible] function and of [illegible] motivation, the university [illegible] the Liberal epoch was [illegible] subjected to a moral [illegible] that purged all political [illegible] The student as a [illegible] did not emerge on [illegible] scene until the revolu[illegible]

[illegible] discussion cur[illegible] way in Spain on the [illegible] problem is proof of the [illegible] the old Habsburg and [illegible] Both models were [illegible] anchored to the inter[illegible] state, and served the [illegible] a restricted social [illegible] fine scholarship of Pro[illegible] and the splendid syn[illegible] Pesets, help us to see [illegible] than ever before how [illegible] enterprise, nurtured with [illegible] ideals, can be frus[illegible]

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The masonic menace

By Philip Deacon

JOSE A. FERRER BENIMELI:
La Masonería española en el siglo XVIII
507pp. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España. 550 ptas.

Belief in a masonic conspiracy to disrupt church and state has been current in Spanish conservative ideology ever since the spread of speculative masonry in the early eighteenth century. Nineteenth-century historians projected the ideological conflicts of their own time on to the previous age, and one of their number, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, was to become the most influential cultural critic of the twentieth century, thanks mainly to the approval given him by the Franco regime. Adopting the arguments of the reactionary writers in vogue in the early nineteenth century, he declared that masonry exercised a corrupting influence on eighteenth-century culture, and accused it of involvement in all subsequent political and anti-religious disorders.

In *The Mythology of the Secret Societies* (reviewed in the *TLS* on December 15, 1972), J. M. Roberts traced on a European scale the growth of the "mythologies" surrounding freemasonry and its derivatives, which provided the basis for the elaborate theories of conspiracy which bolstered up Europe's reactionary regimes in the aftermath of the French Revolution. With regard to Spain, there can be little doubt that a masonic organizational structure was adopted by some of the embryonic political parties which opposed the tyrannical Ferdinand VII after he repudiated the Constitution of 1812, but these associations were disavowed by the orthodox, apolitical European masonry.

José Ferrer Benimeli's book *La Masonería española en el siglo XVIII* centres on Naples and Spain before the Napoleonic invasion, and provides the first documented examination of the evidence so far put forward concerning masonic activity in these areas. Eighteenth-century masonry rapidly spread from England to the rest of Europe, and the first lodges on Spanish soil were set up by Englishmen in Madrid and Gibraltar in the third decade of the century. One after another, Catholic and Protestant nations banned the Order, and in 1738 Pope Clement XII, as much a political as spiritual ruler, published *In eminenti*, the first Papal Bull condemning masonry, adding suspicion of heresy to the political reasons previously alleged.

The confessional states of Spain and Naples thereafter pursued masonry on religious grounds, with Charles VII of Naples appearing as a particularly zealous opponent of the Order. In the Neapolitan territories masonry had spread among the nobility and secular clergy, much to the alarm of Pope Benedict XIV and the King, who, on Dr Ferrer's evidence, seem to have been equally susceptible to theories of conspiracy. With the publication of the Bull *Providas* of 1751, and Charles's subsequent Edict, church and state put up a united front to combat masonic influence. The Grand Master of the Neapolitan Lodge, the Prince of San Severo, felt threatened, renounced his membership before the King and wrote a penitent letter to the Pope describing in detail the aims and ceremonies of the Order, but at the same time making it clear that they contained nothing opposed to the security of the state or the Catholic religion. Others thought that the society referred to in the condemnations bore no relation to the lodges they belonged to, and carried on regardless of the threatened punishments, for, as Dr Ferrer points out, the article of Roman law adduced concerning illicit associations was only valid if the society had subversive aims. When Charles transferred to Spain in 1759 his son Ferdinand IV assumed the throne, continuing to oppose masonry as a result of his father's influence, exercised through the Marquis of Tanucci.

In Spain, Ferdinand VI was prompted to action by his Jesuit confessor Father Rávago, whose *Memorial* of 1751 contains the kind of wild fantasies that were to become widespread in the nineteenth century. Although his information suggested a figure of four million masons in Europe, he reduced this number to 500,000, and hypothesized that *if* these were military officers and members of the nobility, and *if* they were to band together under the deist King of Prussia they could devastate and destroy the whole of Europe.

However, as Dr Ferrer shows, there is no evidence that masonry took root among Spaniards in Spain before 1808. The only cases documented concern foreigners affiliated before going to Spain, although French records mention Spaniards from lodges in Madrid and Saragossa attending as guests of their Paris brethren in 1787 and 1788. Dr Ferrer suggests these may have been French lodges which the Spaniards joined as commercial associates, which would also explain their presence in Paris. Evidence linking the Count of Aranda with masonry can be reduced to hearsay, since, as this book shows, Aranda was confined to his embassy in Paris at the time he was supposed to have founded the Grande-Oriente Nacional de España in Madrid.

Dr Ferrer has laid out the evidence available with meticulous care. The 116 pages of documents reproduced in appendixes may prove too much for some readers, but they are valuable for the professional historian.

Operation Feuerzauber

By Paul Preston

ANGEL VIÑAS:
La Alemania nazi y el 18 de julio
558pp. Madrid: Alianza.

On the night of July 25, 1936, Hitler attended a performance of *Die Walküre* at Bayreuth. On his return to the Villa Wahnfried, where he was staying, he received two German businessmen from Morocco, Adolf Langenheim and Johannes Bernhardt. They brought a terse letter from a certain General Franco, who a week earlier had led a rising of the Spanish African army. Franco was facing defeat; he had the crack units of the Legion at his disposal but no way of getting them across the Straits of Gibraltar to the mainland. He now asked Hitler for rifles, fighter planes and anti-aircraft guns—but not transport planes. "That's no way to start a war", commented the Führer who, nevertheless, decided after an interminable harangue to launch Unternehmen Feuerzauber (operation "magic fire"), the beginnings of German intervention in the Spanish Civil War.

Indeed it was this decision which turned a *pronunciamiento* going wrong into a bloody and prolonged civil war. Not only has its importance never been doubted by historians, but there has been general consensus as to the motives behind it. Ever since the publication in 1937 by the Left Book Club of *The Nazi Conspiracy in Spain* it has been a leftist cliché that the decision was the logical conclusion of a plot involving Franco and the Nazi Ausland-Organization in Spain. However, the great majority of writers of whatever persuasion have been in agreement that the crucial factor in Hitler's mind was the need of his growing war economy for Spanish minerals.

Angel Viñas's remarkable book *La Alemania nazi y el 18 de julio*, now demolishes both notions with a thoroughness which will not be easily contested. His research, the fruit of years spent in German, British, Italian and American archives, sets about them, and the scholars who have maintained them, without mercy and leaves several major reputations bruised in his wake.

In the process of examining the German decision to intervene, Dr Viñas uncovers much new information, particularly about rearmament under Weimar. As a complement to the well-known military contacts with Russia, it appears that there were major naval contacts with Spain in the field of submarine and torpedo development. Perhaps more sensational is the confirmation from Italian records of the long-held suspicion that José Antonio de Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange and martyred saint of the Nationalist cause, received a subsidy from Fascist Italy which virtually kept his movement alive in 1935. Even more interesting are revelations about Primo's attempts to get funds from the Nazis.

This is slightly marginal to the real purpose of the book, which is to show that Hitler's decision was unconnected both with previous contacts between Spanish rightists and the Nazis and with economic considerations. It is clearly shown here that Franco's rebellion took the Germans by surprise and that Hitler's resolution was spontaneous, motivated by anti-Bolshevism and even opposed by Goering at first. However, it is in his analysis of economic contacts between Spain and Germany that Dr Viñas excels. He shows that Spanish iron ore constituted only 6.6 per cent of German consumption in 1935.

Spanish pyrites made up 46 per cent of total German pyrites imports. But in neither case was there any threat to supplies through normal channels. Moreover, even at the time of Germany's great foreign exchange crisis of early 1936, Spanish ore was unaffected since Germany had an extremely favourable trade balance with Spain.

Dr Viñas is loath to draw any sweeping conclusions from his research, but two are difficult to miss: that the initiative for German intervention came clearly from Franco and that, given the inadequacy of his own preparations, he was remarkably fortunate that Hitler decided to accede to his request. German, as opposed to Spanish, historians will note that the exclusions of Neurath from the decision-making marked the definite eclipse of the Wilhelmstrasse in Nazi diplomacy.

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The masters of Toledo

By Eric Young

DIEGO ANGULO INIGUEZ and ALFONSO E. PEREZ SANCHEZ:

Historia de la pintura española
Volume 2: Escuela toledana de la primera mitad del siglo XVII.

395pp and 418 illustrations. Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez. 800 ptas (paperback, 650 ptas).

A new phase has clearly begun in studies of Spanish art inside Spain with the appearance of *Historia de la pintura española*, of which this volume on the School of Toledo is the second to be published. Both authors are already well known to students of Spanish painting, Diego Angulo Iñiguez indeed being the doyen of studies in this field, with an impressively long list of distinguished publications to his credit during nearly half a century of activity, while Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez has already, in little more than a decade, established a reputation that few could hope to rival in a lifetime.

What is so encouraging and new about this history is the boldness of its conception, in that it deliberately turns our attention towards hitherto neglected or in some cases completely unknown painters. In each case a scholarly account of the painter's life and style is followed by a chronological summary of documentary references and a numbered catalogue of his works, with details of size, provenance, bibliographical references, etc, when available, and a series of illustrations of good quality, covering as far as possible all the signed, documented and certain works. In many cases the great majority of those described and illustrated are completely unknown, and it is a remarkable achievement to have brought together such a mass of new material. In this second volume of the history, as also in the first one on the early seventeenth-century Madrid School, sixteen painters have been covered, including three masters of considerable importance, Juan Sánchez Cotán, Luis Tristán and Pedro Orrente, whose achievement has for *different reasons been difficult to* assess fully hitherto.

In the case of Sánchez Cotán, the deserved fame of his exquisite still-life paintings executed before 1603, when he decided on a monastic career, has understandably overshadowed his achievement as a painter of religious compositions. Now that one can at last see a comprehensive series of reproductions of these it is all too clear that this side of his oeuvre tends to be stereotyped and often dull (apart from occasional successes like his "Virgin awakening the Child" in the Granada Museum), compared with the exciting originality of his *bodegones*, which inaugurated the type of simple and austere composition later taken up by such distinguished successors as Juan van der Hamen and Francisco de Zurbarán.

Tristán also emerges more completely than hitherto from these pages, now that we can see him as something more than a mere imitator of El Greco, and discount the exaggerated claims previously made of his role as an important influence on Velázquez. It is, however, in their skilful presentation of the enormous production of Orrente that *the authors have put students* of the Spanish seventeenth century most in their debt. Their sifting of the mass of available material into autograph works, studio versions, copies, imitations and the work of pupils enables us at last to see this painter's own oeuvre in perspective and enhances our appreciation of his modest but solid achievement. That it attained at times a level on which his work could be attributed to a far greater painter is demonstrated by the "Crucifixion"—still, as I noted on a recent visit, labelled "Annibale Carracci" in the High Museum, Atlanta (Georgia)—in which Orrente's hand was first recognized by Roberto Longhi in 1960 and which, in the sequence of illustrations in this volume, fits perfectly into his oeuvre. Not for nothing was Pé... major publica... Italian Seicent... fidently anticipa... tion in future ... the problems of ... still in doubt ... and Spanish Sch...

While the catalog... the history are dra... mary fashion, they ... scholarly judgmen... indispensable found... ible future work in ... finitive *catalogues* ... oeuvres of the pain... Of considerable va... sections dealing wi... known painters, som... deed are credited ... work. By illustra... works, especially ... signed or documen... have provided va... stones for further ...

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Boston's Goyas

By Nigel Glendinning

ELEANOR A. SAYRE:

The Changing Image: Prints by Francisco Goya

325pp and 300 illustrations. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

The catalogue of the exhibition of Goya's graphic work held in Boston and Ottawa from December last to March this year is a publication of exceptional interest and importance. *The Changing Image* is largely the work of Eleanor Sayre, whose earlier studies of Goya's drawings and late miniatures are well known. She recently made a major contribution to knowledge of the *Tauromaquia*, describing the unique copy in Boston with captions in Goya's own handwriting. Now, with the aid of colleagues, she adds to this essay —necessarily recapitulated in the relevant section of the catalogue— much that is new about the technique, interpretation and cultural context of the other series of etchings.

Much of the information about the evolution of Goya's prints from preliminary drawings and sketches to copper plate or lithographic stone will be familiar to those who have read Tomás Harris's fundamental *Catalogue raisonné* (1964). But there are convincing modifications of Harris's conclusions in isolated cases in this book. Undescribed states of some of the plates are brought to light, and the techniques of Goya and his Spanish and foreign contemporaries are compared anew. The historical period in which Goya lived and worked has been thoroughly researched and is beautifully presented. The existence of hand-coloured plates of the *Caprichos* is revealed: there are fresh interpretations of the series and early reactions to it which have not been previously published. The account given of the genesis of the etchings after Velázquez and the *Caprichos* is particularly satisfying. The section on the *Disparates*, by Clifford S. Ackley, is rather thin by comparison, but sensibly avoids trying to interpret the plates in the light of proverbs.

In view of the generally high standard of the documentation, it is a pity that an inaccurate source of information on garroting was used in connexion with Goya's early print, *The Garroted Man*. During Charles III's reign there were rather more than four executions of the kind Goya depicted. Indeed, there were ten between 1776 and 1788, and Goya may well have been moved to etch the scene by one of the two garrotings that took place in Madrid on September 11, 1777, and May 6, 1779. There is also misleading matter in relation to the lady in prison in *Caprichos* 32 ("Because she was susceptible"). The catalogue misinterprets a manuscript commentary when it suggests that the unfortunate woman was simply jailed for becoming pregnant. In fact, since she is described as "Castillo's wife", she must be the woman who was guilty of a famous *crime passionnel* in December, 1797: aiding and abetting her lover to murder her husband. The victim, Francisco del Castillo, was a friend of the poet Meléndez Valdés, whom Goya painted, and the case was widely discussed both in Spain and abroad at the time.

In relation to the manuscript commentaries on the *Caprichos*, Miss Sayre may be wrong to question the validity of the explanations of the plates given in the manuscript in Goya's handwriting now in the Prado. After all, at least one other copy of the same text exists in the artist's hand, so it seems likely that he approved of its contents. Miss Sayre argues that an apparent error in the manuscript's interpretation of *Caprichos* 56 proves that Goya cannot have been responsible for the text. She is right that the satyr depicted in that plate almost certainly represents lust, but she is not necessarily justified in assuming that the commentary is wrong to associate the subject with fortune. May not Goya have intended to combine lust and fortune in one original emblem? If he wanted to allude indirectly to the rise and fall of Godoy's fortunes as a result of his dubious relations with the queen, this combination would have been particularly apposite.

Related prints by other artists in the exhibition were judiciously chosen. They were not all familiar, and there was a Rowlandson instead of the more obvious Hogarth, although it might have been useful to show the latter's Plate 4 of *The Harlot's Progress* or Plate 3 of *The Rake's Progress* next to *Caprichos* 17 or 31. Only two of the Goya drawings exhibited raised doubts about authenticity, though Plate 103, for instance, which is generally taken for a preparatory drawing for *Tauromaquia* 32, looks remarkably like a later variant on Goya's etching by Eugenio Lucas. For a wonder the reproduction shows up what seems to be a faded signature in the foreground.

Despite these criticisms, the catalogue is without doubt a major contribution to Goya literature. Boston's holdings of Goya prints (augmented for the exhibition from other American and European collections) are mouth-watering: the more so since some of the rarest items were in Scotland not long ago, forming part of the collection built up in the middle of the nineteenth century by William Stirling. But if such rarities had to leave these shores at all it is good that they went to Boston. There they are obviously looked after by curators who know and care, and are beyond the reach of our Government's barbarous ...

...nds of knowing

...ur Terry

ALEIXANDRE:
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...leixandre's most recent ...ems is one of his best, and ...ly different from any of ... This is an unusual and ...thing to be able to say of ...his late seventies who for ...s has been regarded as a ...younger generations of ...oets. His *Obras completas*, ...seven years ago (*TLS*, ...968), seemed at the time ...d an achievement which ...seen to have grown ...and organically from its ...premises. This organic ...es largely from Aleix...ntral preoccupation with ...s of creation itself. In his ...realist-influenced, poems, ...es a metaphor for the ...tive and self-renewing ...the universe; later, from ...*del corazón* (1945-53) on... emphasis shifts to the ...ion of man in his human ...here the living and the ...felt as parts of a single ...the "materia única" of ...best-known poems.

...wo phases, with their seem...less possibilities of inter...n, achieve their richest ...*En un vasto dominio* (1958-...collection to be included ...*s completas*. Yet, almost ...ously, Alexandre pub...new book, *Poemas de la* ...*ión* (1968), a series of bleak ...lyrics on old age and the ...ove. In *Diálogos del con*... this most recent phase is ...ge further: though the ...of old age is no less in...in the previous collection, ...is deliberately less per... Aleixandre were trying ...late his new vision to the more universal perspective of his earlier work.

Each of the fifteen poems is in dialogue form and runs to about a hundred lines. This relative spaciousness, together with the absence of complex imagery, may suggest that Aleixandre has returned to a more expansive mode after the austerities of his previous book. Yet the term "dialogue" is deceptive: the majority of the poems consist of two interwoven monologues, whose speakers make no direct contact with one another. In this way, the cumulative effect of genuine dialogue is avoided: instead of a steady linear development, there is a subtle interplay of contrasts and coincidences of which the speakers themselves are unaware. And the effect of this is to call into question the actual status of the words, as if the reader were gradually to become conscious of an unwritten poem behind the interrupted snatches of monologue.

The speakers themselves are differentiated through contrasts of age, sex and temperament, sometimes with the suggestion of a historical or literary context. Yet the most fundamental difference is between the experience of old age and that of youth. The key-word, as the title of the book implies, is "knowledge". In poem after poem, Aleixandre plays brilliantly on the nuances of the verbs *conocer* ("to know by experience or intuition", "to be acquainted with", "to discover") and *saber* ("to know for a fact", "to be intellectually certain of"). Thus, for several of the speakers, the movement through life towards death is a question of passing from one kind of knowledge to the other, from the vital, though tentative, process of sense experience to the certainties which come only when such experience is at an end. Or, as one of the speakers in "Los amantes viejos" puts it: "Conocer es amar. Saber, morir." ("To know by experience is to love. To know intellectually is to die.")

In the poems themselves, however, nothing is as simple as that. Though Aleixandre renders the pathos of old age with great poignancy—the whole drift of his earlier poetry was towards the celebration of sense experiences he no longer finds available—there are moments when he seems to allow that abstract thought may be as "real", and therefore as vital, as intuition. And in "Dos vidas", one of the few poems into which old age does not enter, he imagines two young poets, one a believer in the world of the senses, the other a more austere visionary for whom external reality must be filtered through the processes of the mind. Here it is as though, by admitting this second possibility, Aleixandre were recognizing a kind of poetry very different from his own which he had finally understood and might still come to practise.

The fact that he can convey such openness without sense of strain is perhaps the most obvious measure of his continuing vitality. More than ever, Aleixandre has, in Hugh Kenner's phrase, "the power to charge simple vocables with all that they can say". These latest poems, with their clarity of language and constantly shifting meanings, show that, after fifty years of writing, he is still capable of extending his range in unexpected and profoundly convincing ways.

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If Rubén Darío had found more good critics of his work, the point of a book like Keith Ellis's *Critical Approaches to Rubén Darío* (170pp. University of Toronto Press. £6.25) would be more obvious, for Professor Ellis chronicles rather than practises critical approaches to the poet. José Enrique Rodó (1899) and Octavio Paz (1964) remain among the few who have succeeded in demonstrating why Darío might really be the giant of Spanish American poetry that he is generally held to be. This said, Professor Ellis's study can hardly be objected to; indeed it should be welcomed. It is well written and well organized, with chapters on biographical and sociological approaches, on the literary historians, and on thematic and structural criticism. The forty-five pages of bibliography and notes speak for themselves, and reveal not just the virtue of thorough scholarship but the fine critical sense of the author. The book as a whole is informative and pleasant, though, inevitably perhaps, it sometimes reads a bit like a catalogue.

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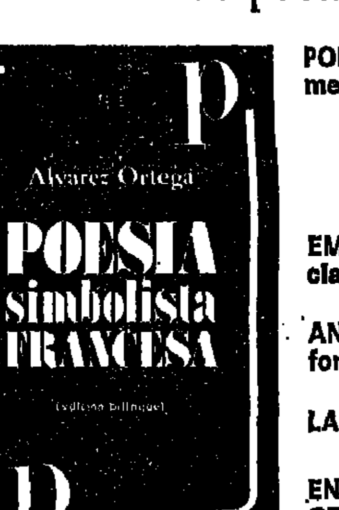

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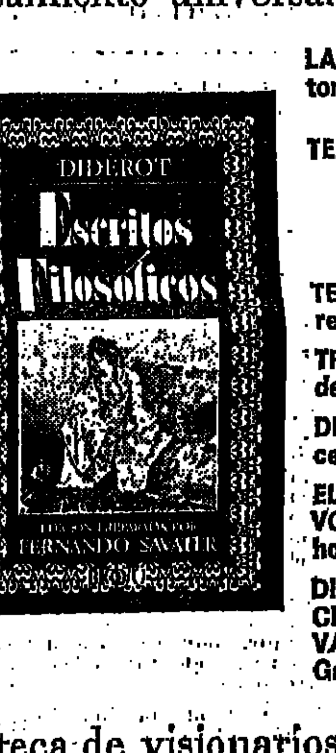

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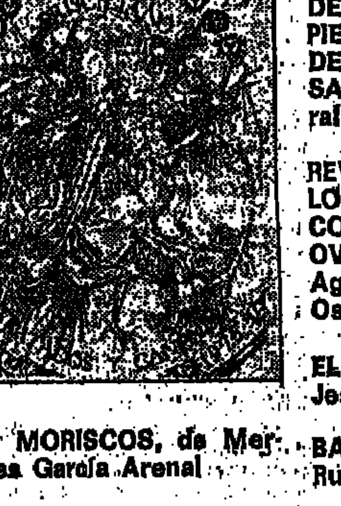

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هكذا من الأصل

Within the past few weeks two major Russian authors have agreed to answer questions about their recent work and its implications—on both occasions in Paris. To mark the appearance of the French edition of his new book, Le Chêne et le veau (a shortened form of the Russian title Bodalsya telyonok s dubom, literally, "The Calf Butted the Oak Tree"), Alexander Solzhenitsyn gave a press conference on Thursday, April 10, 1975. The event has so far been only briefly mentioned in the British press, but an extensive (though still abridged) transcript of the conference was subsequently published by the Russian-language weekly newspaper in Paris, Russkaya mysl' ("La Pensée russe"), in its issues of April 17 and April 24. Since then, the same paper has also printed an interview with Andrei Donatovich Sinyavsky by K. Pomerantsev, on the occasion of the publication of Sinyavsky's new book In the Shadow of Gogol. The translations of the interview and the report on the conference which appear below are both reproduced by kind permission of the Editor-in-chief, Zinaïda Shakhovskaya.

In addition to the importance which each of these documents possesses in its own right, we believe that they gain in interest by being read side by side, representing as they do two such very different attitudes to the writer's role. It should of course be borne in mind that Sinyavsky was engaged in a literary conversation with a single interviewer while Solzhenitsyn found himself facing a miscellaneous group of journalists: if the circumstances had been reversed, the contrast would no doubt have been much less sharp. But, given the stature of the two men involved, it is still, we believe, a very striking one.

'The artist's immemorial role—that of sorcerer and myth-maker'

Sinyavsky: Fiction and reality

POMERANTSEV: Andrei Donatovich, your new book *In the Shadow of Gogol* has just been published. Did you give it this title because you yourself are in the "shadow" of Gogol and because the inner world, the writings and style of the author of *Dead Souls*, are close to you?

SINYAVSKY: Yes, I regard Gogol as a figure of prime importance. There are certain great shadows standing behind every author, and we constantly seek the support of a tradition from somewhere in literary history. For me, Gogol is the number one writer. By that I do not mean that he stands above all the rest, but that to me he is the most important and the most interesting. Generally speaking, if one takes a schematic view of nineteenth-century Russian literature, it seems to contain two stylistic traditions. One is the realistic tradition, which depicted the world in life size—let us say the tradition of Turgenev, Chekhov, Tolstoy, Goncharov. As a literary historian I have a profound respect for this tradition, but it is far removed from me personally as a writer. It is the other category which I find more important—namely Gogol, Leskov, Dostoyevsky and the evolution of their tradition into certain modern manifestations of twentieth-century prose. I have a working definition for it: I call it "the art of exaggeration", in contrast to the art which presents a life-sized portrayal of reality. It is writing in which people are exaggerated, are caricatures—are unnatural, if you like—but which, in my view, provides an access to reality from another side, as it were, in contrast to the direct representation of the world as it is.

POMERANTSEV: Don't you think there is a sense in which Tolstoy's realism might be called "super-realism", because, as I see it, Tolstoy had such a gift of subtle, keen, piercing vision that sometimes he perceived in nature and man things that were invisible to ordinary people?

SINYAVSKY: If realism penetrates far enough into certain ultimate and fundamental matters, it inevitably approaches a condition which in modern terminology is called a "borderline" or "extreme" situation. It can then assume forms which may even run counter to its usual mode. This is especially noticeable in the later Tolstoy, when he deals with the uttermost and final limits of things. It is to be found even in Chekhov, too. In its way, Chekhov's *The Black Monk* is a breakthrough to some kind of "beyond". Even for Chekhov, who all his life as a writer had generally described what was happening around him, there came a point when, by posing certain extreme questions, he reached the limit and passed on into the realm of what was actually fantasy.

POMERANTSEV: Did you know, Andrei Donatovich, that your kind of "realism" is very close to realism as it was understood in the Middle Ages? In those days, realism was the name given to the current of thought which recognized the reality of the spiritual world, as opposed to nominalism, which limited itself to "names" (*nomina*). A philosopher or writer who perceived the spiritual nature of things and penetrated to it was regarded as a "realist".

SINYAVSKY: To me the art of the Middle Ages is an unattainable ideal, and I simply cannot allow myself to claim that I have achieved anything comparable to it. For me, fantasy is a path along which to feel one's way to reality, whereas medieval art saw reality directly and immediately. Whereas I am groping my uncertain way, using fantasy as a pick-lock, the Middle Ages held the key.

POMERANTSEV: Now let's talk about your book. How did it evolve from your own "fantastic" view of the world?

SINYAVSKY: It is the biggest, the most difficult and the most complicated of all my books, and it has taken me a long time to write. The idea came to me when I was in prison-camp, where I began the book, and I finished it when I reached Paris. It took me more than four years. To describe it in a few words, it is the application of "fantastic realism" to the field of literary criticism. My view is that fantastic realism is a method with which you can depict anything you like—the world around you, your own life story; but, in so far as it is also a method of wider application, fantastic realism can also be used as an approach to literature, enabling you to reveal a certain kind of reality through literary facts—by turning them upside down, by lending them a fantastic sense. Hence the title—*In the Shadow of Gogol*. It has very much of a dual meaning for me. On the one hand it refers to the shadow of Gogol himself; it is an attempt to discover, or rather to come closer to, the mysteries and enigmas of Gogol, certain basic motives concealed somewhere in that shadow. That is one meaning of the title. The second is that in the shadow of Gogol, the writer who means most to me, is the place where I am sitting and trying to exist; for me, therefore, *In the Shadow of Gogol* is to some extent—to use a highfalutin' expression—an attempt at a spiritual autobiography. It is not a piece of academic research. It is put together in a peculiar way; even the story-line runs backwards, and goes from the death of Gogol to his birth—since the death of Gogol is in a way the beginning, the starting-point of my book. And the dénouement is the early Gogol, the Gogol of devils and magic, the Gogol of *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka* and *Mirgorod*. I see it as a search for roots—the roots of Gogol, my own roots, the roots of art in general.

POMERANTSEV: When you talk about fiction and fantasy, it strikes me that you are lending these terms a meaning which is not quite usual—you mean "another reality", shall we say. Am I right?

SINYAVSKY: When I say "fiction" or "fantasy" I am certainly not referring to some kind of other world into which I depart in order, let's say, to forget this world and live out some kind of imagined, fantastic existence. To me, fantasy and fiction are primarily the means of discovering *this* world. Fiction is a way to the metaphysical foundations of being—and not necessarily in an other-worldly sense; even in the context of our everyday existence, it is a search for the deepest roots of being. Fiction is a roundabout route to that metaphysical objective. It is not some separate region, in contrast to reality; it is a way to reality.

POMERANTSEV: People often compare Gogol with Molière. Don't you think the difference between them is that Molière is a satirist who scourges vice, whereas with Gogol the vices themselves are characters—people among other people?

SINYAVSKY: In my view Gogol was not a satirist at all, and perhaps not even a "social" writer—that is to say, he was not primarily worried by the failings of society. What he was concerned about were certain essential, universal questions of human nature. Gogol was trying to lay bare the ultimate strands of our being. In one way, Chichikov is the devil, perhaps even the Antichrist; he is, so to speak, vice incarnate. Yet at the same time Gogol believed that he had only to turn Chichikov round—to invert the vice—and his character would become an ideal hero. The drama of Gogol was that he dreamt of turning Chichikov round, and, on the basis of this inverted Chichikov, of refashioning not merely Russia but the happiness of mankind as a whole. Gogol, after all, says of him that one of God's great mysteries is concealed within Chichikov, and that perhaps mankind will kneel in worship of that mystery when its nature is revealed. Gogol was like a geologist or a miner, descending into the bowels of the earth in an attempt, at the deepest level, to discover the laws of God: the way to heaven lies through a journey into the very depths of the earth.

POMERANTSEV: Many people regard the characters and heroes of Gogol as caricatures. From what you have just said, that would not seem to follow.

SINYAVSKY: I think they are caricatures, but of a special kind. They are caricatures of the ideal. This is not just a deviation from the norm through distortion; it is a method of using deformation to represent what is ideal even in that which is obviously vicious. What was the ending which Gogol intended for *Dead Souls*? The resurrection of the dead, by turning the caricature into the ideal—because to him caricature itself was a distorted form of the ideal. Gogol wanted to bring about a reversal of polarity. What more terrible title can there be than *Dead Souls*? It is not just people who are dead, but souls. And for them to rise again, they not only had to be reformed but turned through 180 degrees. Then they would become the ideal, where they had once been freaks.

POMERANTSEV: I would call your interpretation of *Dead Souls* "Dead Souls in the shadow of Gogol". But tell me something of yourself—what does it feel like to be "in the shadow of Gogol"?

SINYAVSKY: I just sit there and keep quiet.

POMERANTSEV: You may have been sitting there and keeping quiet, but you have nevertheless managed to write a book of about 500 pages.

SINYAVSKY: You see, the whole meaning of my life is in art. I do not set myself any great tasks of a didactic or moralizing nature. I am in no way a preacher or a moralist; it is something which is lacking in me. Different people specialize in different things; someone may have a gift for preaching, for teaching, for leading people in some particular direction. I don't have that gift. My speciality is creating images by a process of transformation, and that is all. I am not summoning people to go anywhere, and I have no programme except art.

POMERANTSEV: What you say reminds me of the German mystic and poet Angelus Silesius. One day I found a poem he had written about a rose, and I even translated it into Russian. The sense of the poem is that, by the mere fact of its existence, a rose transforms the evil in the world. It says nothing, it doesn't moralize. "The rose transforms a world that lies in evil." And you want to be a little like that rose. Am I right?

SINYAVSKY: A rose, or a dog, or a weed like a burdock. . . . All my life I have wondered what art is and why it exists. We can all manage perfectly well without art. The Soviet regime, for instance, does without it almost entirely. We cannot get by without food, without drink, without other essentials—but we can survive without art. It's like a kind of bonus, a luxury. Yet, as soon as we consciously remove art from life, then life ceases. It is thanks to this unnecessary, inessential thing that life exists at all. If we eliminate art, there will be no rose, no burdock, no cats and dogs, because art is iconography in the broadest sense. The whole world is God's art. At the level of mere existence we can survive without art, but, if we consciously do away with art, then being—in the sense of a universe full of mysteries, wonders, individuality, personality, cats, weeds, flowers—being will disappear. All that will remain is flatness. And then art to me is salt: in principle you can eat unsalted food and not die, but it is salt which gives life.

POMERANTSEV: In your book *A Voice from the Choir* [to be published in this country by Collins and Harvill later this year] you said that every Russian writer dreams of writing a gospel. None, of course, has managed to do so. But in every book written by a real writer there is a cherished thought, a message which he wants to give to the world like the "good tidings" of the Gospel. What are the "good tidings" of your new book?

SINYAVSKY: I would not presume to apply the expression "good tidings" to my book. But as is the case with every author, this book does contain an idea which is especially dear to me. In this case it is the link between art in general (and Gogol's art in particular) and the forms of ancient magic. In this sense an artist is a failed miracle-worker, or, in simpler language, a magician who casts a spell on reality through his images. The magical transformation of the world by means of art is unattainable, but art lives and breathes by such stimuli. Hence the tragedy of the artist, who is incapable of carrying out the primordial injunction that has been laid upon him. And therein lies the great strength and joy of art: to create images by transforming life and thus on a sheet of paper or on the page of a book to play the artist's immemorial role—that of sorcerer and myth-maker.

'Sometim to do not only your own work but the work of those who perished alongside you'

lzhenitsyn: The artist as witness

In his book The Ca *A. S. states that he* *shorten his novel* Th *by nine chapters.* To *as to whether those* *be published, he repl*

The versions of The F differ in more than ters. I have publishe ter in [the journal] three in the Vestn [Herald of the Ru Christian Movement], had to stop. This is example of a situatio be unthinkable literary circumstances novel, which I comp years ago, was so ex tent that it was impo circulate it in samizd offer it to Tvardovsky

So the novel lay in I realized that a par be offered for publi there was a part whic then had to demolish structure into single start rearranging it so as to construct a ne scratch. To do this, I the basic plot. The my novel was a true toric event. But I cou so I had to put someth place. And I blatantly plot which was widely current in the Soviet time, i e, in 1949.

It so happened that Union that year they a film which serious high treason a doctor cure for cancer to some tors. Well, this fil rounds, everyone saw ly nodded their heads officially sanctioned it in place of my origin for the present I sh As a result, however, of many of the chara several scenes had to so that the plot itself too. It was this altered offered to Tvardovsky circulated in samizdat turned up in the West. not only add the nine also restore the original thermore, I have in the improved the novel st that in many respects a different book. And years' time I hope to p full.

In replying to two quest dealt with his alleged attitude to the West and —freedom, democracy, drew a grim picture of expansion, as a result thirty years after its Hitlerite Germany, the itself among the van doing so he took the opp expound what may per cribed as his "philosoph

I must say that a certain standing exists betwee point, which perhaps was still in the Soviet haps in the year that I over here. I may say always expressed mysel treme moderation and life in the West, if reason than that all works and other pro have been concerned tem in the East.

My statements about the by no means purely ample is my current book *and the Oak*), where I as a mighty ally, which harov and myself, in ing the fierce struggle place in 1973. In this book whole pages in which I Western press. My comm In the West have dealt no more than two or three lems. I once said in a with the CBS that a person East can see in the West a Westerner can see in The Western world reveals is open and hides nothing even living in the Soviet deprived of Western merely by listening to the language radio broadc reach the USSR one can fairly full impression of West is like.

The Westerner is depri opportunity. Most peop

either falsified news Complete information only to those Westerners spent time in Soviet not just fifteen days years. But, when such in the West, their seems so wildly improbable no one believes them.

to the question that was I have made these re to stress that a person East is able to see and to things about the West. the Westerner cannot do the East.

the accusation that my on the West have been and that I can see value here. I have never of the kind. My only on this theme was my "Peace and Violence". however, was said in it Western freedom being un or vexatious; what it contained was a discussion serious problem, and I am to revert to it at any time departure from my view.

about the decades in which citizens received no in about the West, we were as to expect—without, of any moral justifica —that the West would our aid and liberate us ude. In the 1920s and was no Western radio. . . . the risk of sounding pathe prayed" to the West. We that the free and powerful the West would find it that a neighbouring should be oppressed as were apes or cattle. post-war years that I prison-camps, I and those lived by that hope and

time when we had no what was happening in It seems, though, that not at all as we had The West had practically information about the in the 1920s. Every who came to the USSR founded by several police skilfully led him where opposed to go. Worse still, was not only one of being deceived by false but also of the psycho of human nature. This characteristic of Westerners Frenchmen, Germans, Eng . . . it is a general property beings as a species. If had been under a regime that of the Soviets, and had been living under conditions, I consider it possible that the same thing happened.

just one example from the 1930s, one which is perhaps fairly convincing. It is not a new example. In his day, Orwell spoke about it with great fervour. Perhaps no one in France read Orwell in those days, but he was read in England. It refers to the Ukrainian famine. In the years 1932-33 the Bolsheviks created an artificial famine in the Ukraine. Long before all the horrors of the Second World War, they artificially caused what was no more and no less than the death by starvation of six million people—and they skilfully concealed it. But the fact remained that six million people living in Europe were dying of hunger, because every last grain was being taken away from the toiling peasantry. Members of the Komsomol would stand in a room and refuse children a drink of water: let the baby die, but give up your last grain!

Rumours of this reached Europe, and the Soviet government agreed to admit Western correspondents in order to show them that nothing of the sort was happening. And indeed they arranged it all very thoroughly. The correspondents toured around and saw nothing dreadful. But one American journalist, Thomas Walker, managed to get away from this group and traverse the famine zone, take a lot of photographs and smuggle them out of the country at the risk of his life. This was in early 1934. If the rest of the world had threatened to intervene at that moment, the lives of a million or more people might have been saved.

But for a whole year Walker was unable to find a newspaper in the United States which would agree to publish his photographs. The long-suffering Ukraine went on dying, while Western publishers regarded it as improper to inform people about the unpleasant features of communist Russia. When the famine had done its work and all six million had perished, then at last a publication appeared, which any one of you can see; at last the terrible and genuine photographs taken by that American journalist were published, showing people dying in the Ukrainian countryside.

Here Solzhenitsyn showed photocopies of the newspaper which printed the pictures.

This is not merely a case of a lack of information. It is an example of that terrible human peculiarity, which is illustrated by a Russian proverb: "The man with a full belly cannot understand the hungry man." The prosperous man cannot understand the sufferer. And anyone who is prosperous wants to prolong his wellbeing for as long as possible and at any price. Orwell wrote at the time: "Europe took notice of the famine in India because that famine caused no political embarrassment for anyone. It had arisen from natural causes, and therefore it was all right to help the starving Indians. But the Ukrainian famine would have forced people to adopt an attitude of opposition to communist Russia, i e, a politically embarrassing attitude." *[This is a rendering of Solzhenitsyn's version of Orwell, not the English original.]*

Thus Europe abandoned those six million people to their deaths. This was several years before Munich, and it is not difficult to see a connexion between that attitude and Munich. I beg you not to misunderstand me: I am not accusing a single Western state or a section of Western society. It is simply a case of that appalling human characteristic against which religious books and many works of literature warn us.

Let us make an absolutely calm and impartial comparison of two situations: 1945 and 1975. In 1945 the Western powers were victorious, and their might was incomparable. The armed forces of the Western allies were of unprecedented strength. And yet, starting in 1945, without any world war, under the influence of Western public opinion, the Western powers yielded position after position, after position, country after country. While their armed forces were still at full strength, they gave up the whole of Eastern Europe, country by country, they abandoned their fellow-Europeans and brothers so that their agreeable state of general tranquillity might continue.

This process has been going on for decades, and then came Vietnam. Vietnam has, indeed, taken up almost the whole of the thirty-year period, and now that you and I are witnessing, alas, the end of non-communist Vietnam, we can say that this is a period which has quite definitely come to an end. In the Vietnam War two of the great powers of the West—France and America—tried their strength and both in turn have quit the field.

I shall not weary you by enumerating the positions which have been given up throughout the world in the past thirty years. But I know of no one who can argue that the Western powers have become in any way more powerful than they were in 1945. Their spirit of resistance, their positions throughout the world, and the confidence in them of the neutral "Third World" have all been weakened. On the other hand, the communist system has spread over huge areas and all over the Far East.

This process is all too obvious, since it is a line which (for the communist world) is moving upwards and no one can say that it is moving downwards. I will not even bother to try to explain this process to you. You need no help from me to convince yourselves of one thing: the victors have voluntarily become the vanquished. The position of the Western victor-nations today is exactly as though they had just lost a world war.

I can now return to my psychological interpretation. In my article "Peace and Violence" I tried to explain the delusion which consists in regarding as peace a situation in which there is no open warfare. War and peace are thus seen as antipodes. Therefore the whole "peace movement" was aimed at ensuring that the guns should not start shooting again. By giving in often enough, it was thought, the guns would not open fire. An example of this is the way Kissinger arranged the armistice in Vietnam.

Even a child could see that this was no armistice but a house of cards. It was secured by no guarantees; there was not even a neutral member of the ceasefire commission. There were simply two members from one side and two from the other, so that at any moment supervision could be paralysed. And, when Kissinger signed his famous ceasefire agreement, it was obvious that he was signing the death sentence of South Vietnam. The death throes lasted for two years. It differs in no way from the Munich agreement signed with Hitler. Here was simply a manifestation of the human urge to prolong a superficial state of peace and prosperity.

Thus I have not only *not* spoken out against Western freedom: I repeat, we prayed to it as to our only hope. But now we see that for thirty years freedom itself has voluntarily yielded position after position to violence. The reason why my article is called "Peace and Violence" is that in my view the opposite of peace is not war but violence. There can be true peace only when there is no violence. But, if silent violence is in action every day, if people are being killed and repressed, even though the guns are not firing—that is not peace.

It is for the sake of this phoney peace, this superficial wellbeing, that the free Western world has been on the retreat for thirty years. It is characteristic of this state of affairs that the East—Russia—conceals what is going on there, and this makes it easier for the free Western world to avoid too many pangs of conscience: if you are not reminded of it every day, then it is as if it were not happening at all.

Who knows what sort of prison-camp "archipelago" exists today in China? Even I don't know. You have heard about our "archipelago" from my recent book. Long before me, in the 1930s, other people published similar books, but the Western world did not want to believe them. And I don't blame anyone for this: it is a peculiarity of human beings to want to believe only good.

Today in China there may exist a similar "archipelago" of 30 million people. But a Chinese book on their "archipelago" won't reach you for another forty years, by which time it will be too late to help.

A question was put by the literary critic Maurice Nadeau. He said that Solzhenitsyn was not so much a writer as an intellectual, i e, a person who proclaimed certain universal values: human dignity, respect for basic freedoms, etc. A.S. might not have had a political programme, but he had political ideas. Without a return to traditional religious values, to the inner transformation of man, A.S. believed nothing could be done. Yet in this brave and lonely struggle A.S. was using rusty weapons. He [Nadeau] still could not understand why, after painting such a grim picture of the worldwide advance of communism [at this point Nadeau remarked that no Russians were fighting in Vietnam], A. S. had written his letter to the leaders of the USSR, in which he admitted that he did not suggest changing the regime, and that he thought it should remain an authoritarian regime, provided that it did not decline into arbitrary and lawless rule. Nadeau then asked the question: "How can an authoritarian regime not decline into arbitrary rule, and how can you trust the masters of the 'Gulag Archipelago'?"

I ought to complain to M Nadeau, because, under the pretext of asking me one question, he has asked me six questions at once. If those present do not object, I am ready to answer all six.

The first—that I am an intellectual rather than a writer—I firmly reject, because the artistic method with which the *Archipelago* is written, a method of literary investigation, is something quite distinct from scholarly research. Practically everything needed for a scholarly inquiry had been removed; the witnesses were dead, the documents destroyed. What I managed to do in the *Archipelago*—which is fortunately having its effect all over the world—is to demonstrate a method that is qualitatively different from the method of scholarly research.

The fact that I have occasionally had to engage in polemical journalism, as I did in the collection of articles entitled *From under the Boulders*—and here I would like to ask M Nadeau whether he has read this collection [Answer: "Yes, I have"]—is due to Russia's misfortune in having lost 66 million people: sometimes you have to do not only your own work but the work of those who perished alongside you. I would certainly never

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do this kind of thing were it not for the need to speak for those departed.

When M Nadeau says that my ideas are a return to traditional values, I refuse to accept the word "return". . . . I have never proposed "returning" anywhere; I propose going forward, with eyes open and not blindfolded. The person who is using rusty weapons is the one who uncritically repeats the established ideas of the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I am suggesting the need for a more perceptive approach to the course of human history and a broader grasp of it.

If we were not men but gods, and did not make mistakes, we would have traversed the span of our history in two centuries, instead of in twenty or twenty-five. We keep on swinging first in one direction, then in another. Thus in the Middle Ages the Catholic Church began to use violence on man, i e, it applied force to the life of the spirit and thereby tilted mankind in a certain direction. In spurning this violence, the reaction to it (the Renaissance and the Enlightenment) appeared to be a striving for freedom, but it inclined too far in the other direction, and very soon the ideas of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment led us to the so-called "great revolutions", the terrible revolutions of France and Russia.

So the whole problem is ultimately to achieve an equilibrium, to become more perfect creatures than we were in the fourteenth, the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries: not to suppress our physical selves with our spiritual nature, and not to overwhelm our spiritual selves with material things. I would point out that present-day life in the West (not from a political standpoint—because I insist that not only am I no politician but that I have no political ideas—but from a philosophical point of view) consists of an extinction of the spirit by material considerations, and that this circumstance dictates all motives and intentions.

One of the dogmas which everyone has accepted and swears by is socialism. But what is socialism? I am almost certain that no two socialists, picked at random anywhere in the world, could ever agree on what it is. The only thing which can reconcile them all is that socialism means a just society. You and I, and in all probability everyone else, would agree on this interpretation. But if we start to analyse what the economists and the politicians mean by socialism, then it is immediately obvious that what they are talking about is the distribution of material goods and how such distribution should be managed.

That is one example of how the spirit has been engulfed by material considerations, and is one instance of a rusty weapon.

M Nadeau then goes on to the question of Vietnam. Of course no Russians are fighting in Vietnam. But Russian tanks, Russian aeroplanes and Russian guns are fighting there, and they have all been supplied free. . . .

Nadeau: But that is war matériel. Fighting men are not matériel.

I don't know how long M Nadeau spent fighting in the war; I was in it for three whole years, and I can assure him that in our age a fighting spirit is no use without tanks, aircraft and shells. At all events, no one has stood up in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to ask whether it might not be time to stop giving weapons to North Vietnam and how much it was costing his country. Soviet aid to North Vietnam exceeds by five times, perhaps even by ten times, the amount which the Americans have given to South Vietnam. But we shall never be told about it. The people who are paying for it are our collective-farm peasants, and they have not been protesting because they know nothing about it.

Now let me deal with a quite different question concerning my *Letter to the Soviet Leaders*. In many respects it has been misinterpreted here. Keeping within the terms of M Nadeau's question as to how I can trust the masters of the "Gulag Archipelago", I would say that, above all, what I wrote in the *Letter* is not some kind of panacea for the whole world. It is not a theory which proclaims: "Let every country choose this path." It is simply an agonized forecast of what will happen to our country if the present rulers of the Soviet Union bring matters to the point of explosion.

What will happen to us will not be a social revolution but a bloody civil war, and whole peoples will go down to the grave, because the Soviet government has brought relations between the nationalities of the USSR to such a pass. So it is not a case of my having discovered a brilliant pathway to the future, but of how to save us from total destruction. Compared with total destruction, what I have proposed to the leaders of the USSR is in the nature of a painless solution, without an explosion and without bloodshed.

In objecting to my proposals, no one has suggested an alternative solution that is even remotely practical. Andrei Sukharov has objected by saying: "No, we need immediate democracy." I shake him by the hand. I agree . . . cracy. But where . . . from? You . . . need all your . . . while the . . . wind rages. And . . . it by force, this . . . of our total . . . alternative is to . . . Lord, send us . . . and send it . . .

But God . . . simply in human . . . through us and . . . way out for . . .

Finally, I would . . . a distinction between "authoritarian" . . . Authoritarian regimes . . . in many countries . . . Authoritarian . . . necessarily lawless . . . cover a wide spectrum . . . very end of them . . . collection From . . . only in the twentieth . . . only in some countries . . . tarian regime . . .

It was born not . . . of an authoritarian . . . the failure of democracy . . . in Russia, so it was . . . it was in Italy and . . . happening before . . . Portugal. What we . . . is a totalitarian . . . already holds . . . people in prison . . . under Salazar and . . . today; tomorrow . . . times more. A . . . is arising out of . . . democracy. . . .

What I have . . . country—and to . . . the government . . . slightest attention . . . be a far better . . . we are following a . . .

Progress under permafrost

By G. E. Wheeler

VIOLET CONOLLY:
Siberia Today and Tomorrow
A Study of Economic Resources: Problems and Achievements
248pp. Collins. £4.95.

For the general reading public the name Siberia still suggests little more than dreary wasteland, political exiles and concentration camps. This being so, the conception of Siberia as "the world's largest and richest developing country" and "in fact the future base of Soviet economic power" will come as a revelation to all but the few geographers and sovietologists who have made a special study of Soviet Asia.

Siberia Today and Tomorrow is the first comprehensive and analytical survey of Russian achievement and potentialities in the whole of the vast region stretching from the Urals to the Pacific and from the Arctic Circle to the borders of Central Asia and China. Works such as Terence Armstrong's *Russian Settlement in the North* and Paul Dibb's *Siberia and the Pacific*, excellent though they are, are concerned only with particular aspects and parts of the region. Other more popular but incomplete and often misleading sources of information are descriptive travelogues resulting from tours carried out under Soviet official auspices, and Soviet propaganda designed for Western consumption.

In the absence of any facilities for independent "first-hand" investigation Violet Conolly has adopted the only possible method of arriving at the facts—the scientific and cumulative analysis of the vast mass of information contained in Soviet books, periodicals and newspapers. The successful handling of this material requires not only unremitting industry but also long experience of Soviet methods of presentation, deep knowledge of Russian history, geography and economics, and an understanding of present-day technology. As all those familiar with her earlier work, and particularly with *Beyond the Urals* (1967), are aware, Dr Conolly is exceptionally well qualified in all these respects.

Of the book's fifteen chapters five are concerned with general matters such as the environment, administration, demography and the indigenous peoples, and seven with various aspects of the economy, special emphasis being laid on energy and metallurgy. Chapter 13 discusses prospects of Soviet economic co-partnership with Japan and the United States, and Chapter 14 covers Far Eastern frontier problems. The book ends with a postscript which consists of general conclusions together with some account of developments up to October 1974, particularly in respect of the withdrawal of the Jackson Amendment, which at one time bade fair to hamper United States participation in Siberian economic projects.

The great Soviet drive aiming at the systematic exploitation of the rich natural resources of Siberia and Central Asia which began after 1945 had been rendered possible by the establishment of the Tsarist Russian presence there from the sixteenth century onwards. This was brought about not so much by deliberate government policy as by the pioneering qualities and dogged persistency of the Russian peasantry to which under Tsardom immigration was largely restricted. It is on the foundation of this presence that the Soviet regime, by dint of state planning and large capital investment, has been able to raise an economic structure which, in spite of many setbacks and administrative shortcomings, has already reached formidable proportions and gives promise of still further expansion.

The scarcity in the West of accurate and unbiased information about Siberia has been largely due to the fact that the Soviet Union's concentration on the exploitation of her Asian territories coincided with the beginning of the East-West Cold War. The West began, reasonably enough, to use conditions in Soviet Asia as a theme in its anti-Soviet propaganda campaign—designed to counter Soviet anti-Western propaganda directed towards the Asian and African countries still under Western imperial rule.

Since the study of Soviet Asia fell neatly between the two academic disciplines of Slavonic and Oriental studies, most of the information on Siberia and Soviet Central Asia purveyed by the Western media was to a large extent inspired by the wishful thinking inseparable from propaganda. It harped on what undoubtedly were for a time deplorable living conditions, on faulty planning, inefficient administration and the like. Only a small amount of specialist writing ventured to point out that, whatever the ethical objections to the theory and practice of communism, living conditions in these regions were steadily improving and that remarkable material progress was being registered; and this writing was generally treated with incredulity amounting at times to suspicion.

During the past ten or fifteen years this situation has undergone considerable change: Soviet achievement in many fields is now freely admitted. Indeed, there is sometimes a tendency to exaggerate the Russians' ability to solve the serious problems which confront them. This book, like the author's earlier book, *Beyond the Urals*, which was mainly concerned with Central Asia, strikes an admirable balance between over and underestimation of Russian achievement and capabilities. Written in lapidary and jargon-free English it gives a clear impression of the magnitude and variety of Siberian resources and of their vital importance to Russia, of the obstacles both natural and man-made which lie in the way of their full exploitation, and of the new prospect opened up by the Russians' long postponed and even now wary approach to the possibility of international cooperation in matters requiring technological expertise higher than their own.

Chief among the man-made obstacles is the widespread failure to provide adequate accommodation and other amenities for labour imported from the west, as well as machinery and other appliances suitable for such extreme Siberian conditions as permafrost. Dr Conolly produces ample evidence of this state of affairs from Soviet sources ranging from statements made by highly placed officials to workers' letters published in the Soviet press. Another serious shortcoming, and the cause of frequent complaint, is the disappointing use made by the authorities of the scientific research carried out by the remarkable establishment founded in Novosibirsk in 1967, and fully described in Chapter 12.

The extent of such great and growing industrial centres as Bratsk and the Sayan complex in the Khakass autonomous *oblast* will come as a complete surprise to most readers. Equally startling is the evidently enormous increase in Soviet gold production, now estimated to be second only to that of South Africa, and of which some 95 per cent comes from Soviet Asia, mainly from Siberia. Soviet sources are extremely reticent on this subject and Western estimates are necessarily cautious. It is interesting to compare Dr Conolly's estimate of production for 1971 of 212 tons with that of Consolidated Gold Fields of 400 tons for 1975.

In her postscript Dr Conolly briefly discusses the possibility of a head-on Sino-Soviet confrontation in the Far East. On present evidence she finds this improbable, but there is no doubt that mutual fear and suspicion keep both states on tenterhooks. In Siberia one element is lacking which is a constant source of Soviet . . . Central Asia; their . . . frontier is straddled . . . homogeneous Muslim . . . whereas the small . . . in the Far Eastern . . . political significance . . . Dr Conolly points out . . . devoted to them . . . Tungusic peoples of . . . though they are, and . . . culturally, and also . . . tant contribution to the . . . working in the more . . . matic conditions.

It is interesting . . . impression which Siberia . . . *Tomorrow* will make . . . Union, where its . . . to be confined . . . Siberian affairs . . . examine it with . . . appropriate staff of the . . . known as Agitprop . . . paints a vivid picture . . . riches and of Soviet . . . in exploiting them . . . criticism of shortcomings . . . exclusively from . . . source-material, it . . . posed that it would . . . tive notice from . . . This, it must be said . . .

In Soviet eyes the . . . Western report on . . . ment deserving of . . . that which is wholly . . . in fact corroborated . . . ganda directed towards . . . Soviet world. Wholly . . . ing of the kind . . . Western propaganda . . . is generally ignored . . . tively harmless. But . . . contains positive and . . . accounts of Soviet . . . accompanied by . . . critical Soviet . . . achievement is regarded . . . objectionable. This . . . approach was once . . . me by a Russian . . . "neloyal'no", . . . doubt meant "unfair" . . . "disloyal". The . . . ordinary sensitivity . . . Russian history. It . . . time but so far . . . doing so.

But, whatever the . . . which it creates in the . . . the book will . . . its purpose in the . . . to provide a concise . . . as complete as possible . . . what goes on in Siberia . . . of how Soviet plans . . . are likely to develop . . . pensable maps and . . . unusually well-produced . . . the book is a . . . nient, the more so . . . works entailing . . . it has been . . . financial assistance . . .

. . . e price of peace and quiet

. . . id Pearce

. . . LTERS:
. . . d Prices
. . . endon Press: Oxford University Press. £1.75

. . . t million people are now . . . to traffic noise in excess . . . Noise Advisory Council's . . . ceded "absolute limit of . . . ity". More than two and . . . million people are affected . . . aft noise, while one esti- . . . es those suffering from . . . the loss of hearing caused . . . in their workplaces at . . . One of the blessings of the . . . "energy crisis" is that, . . . rt time anyway, it is limit- . . . rate of growth of air and . . . ffic, so pushing a little fur- . . . to the future the Royal . . . sion on Pollution's figure . . . 30 million people who, in . . . ill have to bear unaccep- . . . se. But, in the absence of . . . olicy measures, this start- . . . re will be reached within a . . . Noise pervades the indus- . . . ety. It is also pernicious.

. . . of the difficulties of digest- . . . message of A. A. Walters's . . . ive and imaginative book, . . . d *Prices*, lies in relating . . . has to say on this data to . . . t of noise on people. For . . . Walters, noise is a loca- . . . conomies. And this is cru- . . . is argument, for he conjec- . . . s most economists do, a . . . f rational economic beings . . . ed with a "bad" such as . . . sance, take action to avoid . . . might, though it is not . . . d in this book, buy sound . . . they might seek to . . . through political chan- . . . the creators of noise; Professor Walters's thesis . . . this—they might move. Of . . . many people *do* move . . . f noise nuisance. But . . . not, believing perhaps . . . bought the right to a . . . environment while relying . . . fined "authorities" to do . . . about it. Others do not . . . cause they cannot.

. . . e can blame economists for . . . to construct models of the . . . stem based on "rational" . . . r. After all, as Professor . . . himself says, it is not clear . . . e we would construct any . . . approach to policy prob- . . . equally, one wonders . . . self-interest really is the . . . behaviour in the complex . . . of pollution, at least to the . . . there we can rely on the . . . of strict economic analysis. . . . final event, if 30 mil- . . . ople really will be suffering . . . sing noise in the 1980s, . . . sing market would have to . . . remarkable state of flux to . . . date the evertive beha- . . . so many rational people, . . . we allow for divergencies . . . the experts' assessments of . . . bility" and the revealed, . . . rently revealed, preferences . . .

. . . one can quarrel with this . . . umption in *Noise and* . . . there is much in the book . . . serves careful attention. . . . Walters attempts to . . . the behaviour of a ration- . . . son exposed to noise. He . . . s that model to predict . . . ings as rates of mobility out . . . into noisy areas, and he also . . . actual monetary values of . . . al cost of noise. For the . . . this cost is measured by . . . of money the sufferer is . . . willing to pay to avoid . . . e the sum he requires in . . . ation to tolerate it.

. . . ofessor Walters admits, the . . . is simplistic, but the essen- . . . t appealing feature that he . . . is that we can derive a . . . valuation per *unit of noise*. . . . per-unit value holds, he . . . irrespective of the *level* of . . . If, then, some policy mea- . . . considered—say the "retro- . . . of jet aircraft to make . . . quieter—and the noise mea- . . . from 45 to 40 NNI (NNI . . . noise and number . . . index, admittedly dispu- . . . measure of noise nuisance), . . . use Professor Walters's . . . procedure to say that the . . . in noise is worth £5X . . . affected, X is the value per . . . and £X varies with the . . . house prices. Roughly, X appears to be some 0.7 per cent of the value of the affected property.

Where does the actual value of X come from? What Professor Walters's modelling procedure shows is that the proportion of income that someone is willing to pay for quiet is approximately the difference between the market price of a house in a quiet area and the price of the directly comparable house in a noisy area. Furthermore, there are neat gradations in this willingness to pay according to the degree of noise since people may well be willing to move from a very noisy area to one slightly less noisy—it all depends on their personal sensitivity to noise. The final step, then, is to find empirical evidence of this price differential.

Unfortunately, the evidence is very limited and the results it suggests must, as Professor Walters says himself, "be treated with a mixture of caution and scepticism". Indeed, despite this caveat, Professor Walters claims a little too much for the evidence. For his approach to be valid he must show that the relationship between noise nuisance measures, such as NNI, and the house price differential is *linear*: each change in NNI must result in the same change in price differential regardless of where on the NNI scale we are to start with. But the evidence is not this strong. Even in the celebrated Third London Airport study linearity is achieved only by supposing that a straight line is the best "fit" to data which, in each case, has only three observations. There is some other supporting evidence for linearity, but one cannot help feeling that the data has been somewhat squeezed to support the linearity proposition. And linearity is crucial for Professor Walters's case—otherwise we cannot secure the per-unit valuations he suggests.

Whatever the defects of the modelling procedure and the empirical evidence adduced to support the valuation process, the central hypothesis of *Noise and Prices*—that the "value" of peace and quiet may be derivable from rational personal adjustment to nuisance—is a powerful one. Certainly Professor Walters's emphasis on the use of noise charges, perhaps included in airport landing fees, deserves very serious attention in policymaking circles.

There are one or two odd policy conclusions in the book. For example, application of the valuation procedure suggests that there is no "overwhelming" case for introducing quieter aircraft engines in the United States aircraft fleet. But the costs and benefits produced—$2 billion of costs and $1.4 billion of benefits—would justify retrofitting a substantial proportion of the fleet, and the difference in costs and benefits further seems scarcely large enough to outweigh the social costs that are extremely unlikely to show up in house price differentials.

This is a challenging and original book which must surely be a minor landmark in the development of applied cost-benefit analysis. Perhaps most important—and clearly one of Professor Walters's intentions—is that it will stimulate others to produce the empirical evidence and the refinement of methodology that will validate or disprove the use of such approaches to the valuation of environmental disamenity. As Professor Walters says: "We are only at the beginning of this inquiry into the price of quiet." Enemies of cost-benefit analysis will be irritated by Professor Walters's book; simplistic advocates (and he is not one of these) will be delighted by it. The rest of us must surely be indebted to it.

Malthusianism in Bangladesh

By A. R. Khan

E. A. G. ROBINSON and KEITH GRIFFIN (Editors):
The Economic Development of Bangladesh within a Socialist Framework
330pp. Macmillan. £7.

Bangladesh represents the greatest concentration of the most acute poverty in today's world. About 78 million people, squeezed into a geographical area of 55,000 square miles, are almost entirely engaged in preindustrial activities for subsistence. More than three-quarters of the people are farmers. An average farming family of five to six persons has to eke out living from a farm of two acres of land which has about the lowest output per acre in the whole world. The vast majority of the farmers are, of course, way below this dismally low average. The result is extreme and widely shared poverty. Well over half the population go hungry for significant periods of time each year and an overwhelming proportion suffer from serious malnutrition.

Nearly 20 per cent of the food consumed has to be imported. In recent years this alone has used up most of the foreign exchange earned by the extremely undiversified exports. Import dependence is very heavy in many other essential commodities. In recent years imports have had to be restricted severely for want of foreign exchange. Even so, the available foreign exchange earnings from exports have financed no more than two-fifths of all imports. The large gap in external payments has to be covered by foreign aid. The perpetual state of near famine, the extreme dependence on foreign aid and the gradually deepening poverty of the rapidly multiplying population make Bangladesh the nearest thing to the circumstances visualized by Malthus.

In January 1973, just over a year after the independence of Bangladesh, the International Economic Association (IEA) organized a conference in Dacca to discuss how the new nation could break out of the vicious circle of such poverty and under-development. In doing so the IEA broke its tradition of not organizing a conference on the problems of a single country. In view of the unprecedented nature of the problem of extreme poverty in Bangladesh this departure from tradition was wholly justified. The aim of the IEA was the most laudable one of providing the Bengali economists with high quality technical assistance by bringing together a large number of development economists, from both the socialist and the non-socialist countries, with experience of practical planning under widely varying social and economic institutions.

The conference took the form of a dialogue between the Bengali economists seeking solutions to the problems facing their new nation and the foreign participants who had experience of dealing with development problems elsewhere. On each aspect of the country's economic problem the Bengali economists prepared papers setting out their analysis of the situation and their suggested solutions. Specially designated foreign participants made extensive comments on each paper. This was followed by a general discussion on each topic in which both Bengali and foreign economists participated.

The Economic Development of Bangladesh within a Socialist Framework contains the papers (many of them revised and updated after the conference), the comments made by the designated foreign participants and the summary reports of the general discussions. The papers contain useful information and analysis of problems. The comments and summaries of discussions are rich with references to experiences of economic planning elsewhere. The book is a useful source of material on the economy of Bangladesh and a valuable addition to the literature on applied development economics.

In several important ways, however, it is an inadequate review of the course of economic events in Bangladesh since the date of the conference. For example, the subject of the conference was "The development of Bangladesh within a socialist framework". The conference, however, did not have the benefit of an adequate and precise definition of this framework.

The political movement that led to the emergence of Bangladesh had never been socialist in the orthodox sense. The circumstances of independence inevitably led to the growth of many groups subscribing to different doctrines of socialism. Rather than trying to arrive at a clear definition capable of guiding action, the leadership of the nation allowed its professed socialist objectives to remain vague and undefined in order to avoid the consequences of making its own social and economic objectives known. Instead, it decided to hide behind an undefined doctrine of socialism to serve as a blanket for the various factions who were content with rhetoric rather than demanding immediate action.

While the rhetorical position of the political leadership did not permit any clear definition of its profession of socialism, the economic policies actually pursued revealed its own (very different) objectives. In agriculture no serious land reform was contemplated. Even the non-socialist land reform of the Japanese-Taiwanese type was considered impossibly radical. Although most of the modern industries came to be publicly owned (this was due mainly to the exodus of the Pakistanis who owned most of them, and only to a lesser extent to the nationalization of the relatively small number of Bengali enterprises in three industries), the operation of these industries by the government did not have the objective of reasonable social accumulation to finance further development. Instead, they were systematically discriminated against in order to enrich private traders.

In these circumstances it was understandable that the conference would be without a definition of the framework within which it was investigating the possibility of economic development in Bangladesh. But this lack of definition proved a serious limitation which rendered many of the deliberations of the conference unreal. Participants made their own implicit assumptions and made recommendations which ranged from orthodox socialist models to moderately social-democratic solutions. For want of a clear definition of the socialist goals of the political leadership it was impossible to demarcate the area of feasibility. As a consequence there was altogether too much spinning of alternative socialist strategies in the air and too little analysis of actual economic politics since independence.

This lack of emphasis on the analysis of the economic and social policies and circumstances since independence is also responsible for the mechanical extrapolation of many of the pre-independence trends and ratios in estimating resources and growth potential in some of the painstaking exercises reported in the papers. The rates of resource mobilization and growth predicted even by the most pessimistic participants at the conference look infinitely ambitious in comparison with what has been achieved in Bangladesh since the conference.

Even before this book was published Bangladesh was in a state of acute famine. Yet in all the brave discussions about the strategy of transforming the material and institutional conditions in agriculture there is little that might have led the reader to expect such a disaster. Nor can one take the position that the famine was due to the floods in the summer of 1974 which could not have been predicted. It does not appear today that the avoidance of the loss of crops in the floods would have prevented a famine.

To predict famine it would have been necessary to analyse changes in rural asset and income distribution brought about by the circumstances and policies since independence and not merely to predict aggregate production and supply. Understandably this was a much more difficult task (especially in view of the inadequate statistics) than the one of charting the alternative strategies of building socialism. But the fact that no serious attempt was made to analyse such (admittedly difficult) phenomena constitutes a major criticism of the achievements of the conference, especially of its Bengali participants (of whom I was one).

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TLS Commentary

First fifteen

Some literary magazines begin as they mean to go on and then go on exactly as they began, for as long as the Arts Council subsidizes them. *Agenda*, however, has had a varied career, and the current number, which celebrates its fifteenth anniversary, bears no resemblance at all to the first, which appeared in January 1959.

Agenda, whose editor was, and is, William Cookson, started up as a revival of a pamphlet called *Four Pages* and to begin with was not a literary magazine or indeed—as the four-page format was kept on—a magazine at all. The first number, so a later number claims, included an editorial statement of policy, but in fact consisted chiefly of reflections, interesting, though not very cogently expressed, on a range of subjects, including "the appalling, almost criminal, lack of curiosity on the part of authors who get into print" (what the curiosity should be about is not clear), Continental groups of writers "run by kindly but wholly illiterate old ladies with money" (they sound rather nice), civilization, the soil, personal liberty and money.

Particularly money: the early issues abounded with Ezra Pound-type theories about international finance which seem, to a reader who is not trained in economics, decidedly cranky, and possibly might to one who was. On the other hand, the views expressed about architectural planning were sensible, and have been widely accepted since. Politically, the mixture of notions might be called individualist: if Mussolini was quoted with approval, so was Hugh MacDiarmid. Philosophically, the pamphlet had the eclecticism of a canary picking out fortunes.

No 4 was a landmark in being a Poetry Issue. The poems were not all good. "Lute Song" by Ronald Duncan addressed his loved one in absence, avowing that he was

> Bored with my bed too big without your bum.

It is enough to make one believe in progress. And better poems were indeed on the way. No 6 was still trying to formulate an editorial policy but was already emphasizing its intention to include a great deal of poetry. By the autumn of 1961 *Agenda*, now three times its original size, was describing itself as a "magazine mainly concerned with the publication of poetry", and was presenting good poems by Hugh MacDiarmid, C. H. Sisson and David Wright. And so on. In the spring of 1965 there appeared a bumper issue, including work by Donald Davie, Roy Fuller, Ted Hughes, Elizabeth Jennings, R. S. Thomas, Charles Tomlinson; et Al.

The 1960s saw the beginning of the series of special issues for which *Agenda* has become famous. the three best known are probably the ones in honour of Ezra Pound (1965), David Jones (1967) and Thomas Hardy (1972). The Hardy issue was guest-edited by Donald Davie and includes interesting material, some of it pleasantly eccentric in the best *Agenda* tradition. I like the idea of translating English poems into Italian for English readers. I particularly enjoyed Carlo Izzo's rendering of "The Oxen" although it demonstrates only too well how, even in the hands of such a sensitive and experienced translator as Professor Izzo, almost nothing of the real essence of a subtle poem can survive translation.

The anniversary volume contains an anthology of new poems. They are of varying merit; no unfashionable streaming here. But many are of high quality, and the inclusion of seven new poems by Geoffrey Hill is a real coup. In spite of the gulf between the current issue and the first, there is continuity; and indeed there has been throughout: the same names have kept appearing, seemingly in a spirit of consistency rather than of cliquishness. The class of 1959 now reunites. In some respects sadly: David Jones, praised so warmly and so justly in the first number, here receives posthumous tributes.

Agenda's weak point has been its critical articles and reviews. It is ... that one has disagreed with its value judgments—too much praise for Peter Levi, not enough for Geoffrey Hill—but there has been something of a tradition of verbose wrapping-up. Peter Dale's declaration about Ian Hamilton, for example — "If his output is small though intense it is because real poems come but rarely to poets even the greatest"— is surely too magnificent a way of saying that Hamilton's poems are a bit on the short side. In the present number A.B. does the same kind of thing, only more limply, in speaking of Edwin Muir, even perpetuating the legend that he was "gentle and unassuming", which he was not.

Patricia Beer

A working proof by Goya for Caprichos *32 entitled "Because she was susceptible"; the girl may be in prison because she is pregnant; a Spanish eighteenth-century law persecuted women who bore illegitimate children.*

A gift of Goyas

One hundred and forty etchings and lithographs by Goya are on view in the Courtauld Institute Galleries from now until the end of June. Anyone who cares about Goya should go. And those who think they can get all the Goya etchings they want out of a collection of good-quality reproductions without stirring from their rooms should lay down their books and walk to Woburn Square. They will have to change the blacks, whites and greys of their Dover, Thames and Hudson or Crown *Caprichos* for the rusty browns of the first edition; the flat shiny surface of the pages they know, for the infinitely richer textures of heavy paper they may have forgotten: paper in which the copper plates buried their acid lines and veils of ink.

The range of the exhibition is remarkable: the early *Flight into Egypt*; five of the plates after Velázquez, including one in which Goya used aquatint for the first time; selections from the major series; together with the *Prisoner* etchings, the two landscapes, a few other etchings not in any of the series, and the *Bulls of Bordeaux* lithographs. Trial proofs, made during or before the first printing, are shown of the *Caprichos* and some of the independent etchings; the prints exhibited from the *Disasters of War*, *Tauromaquia* and *Disparates* (or *Proverbs*), are from the first editions. The developing and inventive complexity of Goya's techniques are well illustrated. So, of course is the range of his subject-matter and moods: the *Caprichos* mocking with aggressive wit parents and children, the Inquisition, lax religious orders and popular superstitions, prostitutes, policemen and princes; the *Disasters* pouring out the black bitterness of war; the *Tauromaquia* and *Disparates* matching the open violence of the bullfight with the more perplexing and no less violent assaults of man on man, inside and outside the mind.

All the exhibits come from the extraordinary collection of more than 2,000 Goya prints formed by the late Tomás Harris, author of a masterly *catalogue raisonné* of Goya's graphic work. The collection was lent by him, and has now been given in his memory, to the British Museum. Harris was himself an artist of great virtuosity; he also followed his father's career as a dealer. Later his inventive mind, wit and imagination lay behind "Operation Garbo", one of the greatest double-cross gambits of the Second World War. His own artistic skill enabled him to recognize, or work out for himself with a new precision, Goya's techniques as an engraver. He handed on his unparalleled knowledge in his book. Now his Goya prints are to belong to the public too.

From the Spanish

London—and the *TLS*—are very Spanish this week. The Spanish Ambassador and the president of the board of directors of the Instituto Nacional del Libro Español have inaugurated the Spanish Book Exhibition in the Royal Festival Hall, which is now open to the public, admission free, until June 1. For the same period the Spanish Institute at 102 Eaton Square is displaying Spanish books illustrated by Salvador Dali, Gregorio Prieto, Vaquero Turcios and others. And at Canning House, 2 Belgrave Square (the headquarters of the Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Council), there is a display of publications of a less artistic but no less essential nature: books on economics and business management, and specialized and technical periodicals.

In the main exhibition in the Festival Hall there are about 3,000 recent books on display. These include some books about Spain published in Britain, and some books by Spanish authors translated into English. The 450-page catalogue quotes (twice) figures for the growth of publishing in Spain: 6,000 titles in 1960, almost 19,000 in 19...

The ambassador, ... Fraga Iribarne, ... to the catalogue ... enthusiasm for ... made books, ... their modest prices ... to everyone, ... spread of cultural ... at all levels". ... present economic ... Spanish books are ... made than they ... prices in the ... to confirm his opti...

Still, it seems a ... a glance through the ... organizers have ... writers, both Spanish ... who have serious ... the political scene ... work of Spain's lead... Alfonso Sastre, is ... example; he is a ... for reasons which ... specified but which ... other than ideological ... sion might have ... stature in this country ... will a sight of, say, ... Andersen translated ...

Bastions in Bloomsbury

For anyone interested ... the late fifteenth ... current Bloomsbury ... well worth a visit. ... is a small exhibition ... "Castles and Sieges" ... Museum. It has been ... Pamela Porter of the ... rary's Manuscripts Dep... can be seen until ... in the first two cases ... ville Library. The ... manuscripts paint a ... of the development ... castle from the late ... tury onwards. The ... strictly military: ... functioned in terms of ... dation and so forth ... tioned. The John ... Windsor Castle, 1607, the ... century town seal of ... the view of the White ... Royal Ms. 16 F II, are ... and enjoyable to look at ... good to see the exhib... papers of the antiquary ... Kerrich (1748-1828), ... beginning to receive the ... that is his due.

The second part of the ... consists mainly of ... medieval siege engines ... clude versions of the ... animal grotesques from ... century Books of Hours ... esting manuscript ... tion of the impact of ... the history of Europe ... There is an elegantly ... script of Vegetius, De ... and another fifteenth ... ian manuscript (Add ... includes technical drawings ... techniques and is open ... scaling-ladders. They ... to later manuscripts ... trate the development ... warfare: a French drawing ... showing a cannon ... and flame, with the ... charge and discharge ... page; and a diagram of ... tification from a 1550 ... Robert Corneweyle of a ... the Italian manner of ...

At University College ... end of May), an "Italian ... tion" provides an ... look at some of the ... midably strong holdings ... Italian printed books ... to be better known. ... owns at least thirty-six ... the *Divine Comedy* ... 1600, and sixty-two editions ... *Courtier* printed before ... number and variety ... Petrarch, Ariosto, Boccaccio ... velli, Castiglione and Tasso ... on show is very impressive.

Among other items in the ... tion, the papers and ... illustrating the history of ... College's Italian Department ... very good value. ... sors of Italian ... before he moved to the ... Museum; Panizzi ... Bellini's *I Puritani* ... a reference from ... Gallenga who, as ... of *The Times* ... 1860 rising.

Clio and Oedipus

By Gertrude Himmelfarb

BRUCE MAZLISH:
James and John Stuart Mill:
Father and Son in the Nineteenth Century
484pp. New York: Basic Books. $16.95.

...distinctive contribution of ... French to historical studies ... been the kind of social history ... ed with the *Annales* school, ... distinctive contribution of ... rica may be the kind of ... analytic history known as ... hohistory". It requires no ... exercise of imagination to see ... this should be so. Whatever cul... and social reasons have made ... rica so receptive to psycho... in general, both as theory ... therapy — all the familiar ... ons ranging from the indi... listic, rootless nature of ... rican society to its affluence ... exacerbated selfconsciousness ... uld naturally encourage the ... cation of that mode of thought ... aspects of life: to politics ... recalls the proposals and ... attempts to psychoanalyse ... dential candidates), to literary ... ism (Huck Finn as suppressed ... sexual), to dress (blue jeans ... symptom of bisexuality or uni... lity), to language (the extra... ary ease with which technical ... analytic terminology has been ... lated into everyday speech). ... ory, and especially historical ... raphy, is so obvious a candidate ... this form of analysis that the ... r is not that we have had ... ch of it recently but that we ... not had more.

... have had enough of it, how... to begin to discern trends ... differences within psychohistory. Erik Erikson's work has ... amatic boldness conspicuously ... ing in that of many of his ... ples, and Frank Manuel exhibits ... btlety and elegance worlds ... ved from the mechanical ... ies of much of the *History of ... dhood Quarterly*, for example. ... in spite of these differences, ... school has been united in its ... mitment to a distinctive psycho... tic (although not necessarily ... dox Freudian) mode of ... is. The categories, concepts ... explanations of the psycho... ian have been those of the ... ing analyst: anal eroticism ... aggressiveness, toilet train... and breast feeding, infantile ... and the Oedipal situation. ... distance of time, the remote... of the subject, the absence ... the patient-doctor relationship, ... lack of essential data—all these ... not deterred the psycho... ians from trying to import into ... the rigours and dogmas of ... analysis.

... latest contribution to psycho... ory, *James and John Stuart ...*, promises, at moments, to ... a new openness of mind, a ... relaxed temper, into the ... This is all the more hearten... because Bruce Mazlish has ... one of the more ardent parti... and enthusiastic practitioners ... the school. In his earlier study ... Nixon, using sources that the ... ntional historian would have ... oached most gingerly, Mazlish ... confident enough to proclaim ... psychoanalysis (and by impli... psychohistory) is more ... ific than conventional history ... it possesses a "scientific ... of concepts, based on clinical data". In his book on James and John Stuart Mill he makes no such bold claims. Indeed here, where the material is much more promising, he displays a curious diffidence. At crucial points in his argument he injects disarming disclaimers, admissions of the inadequacy of the data and even of Freudian doctrines. Like most such disarming disclaimers, they disclaim less than the writer pretends and they disarm criticism less than he might like. But they do hold out hope for conciliation with conventional history, and at the very least they make for a refreshingly candid tone.

Whether they are more than a matter of tone—whether they are not the familiar strategy of *reculer pour mieux sauter*—may be judged by a small but typical example. All biographers of John Stuart Mill have remarked upon the curious fact that his mother and wife had the same name. One is not surprised to find Mazlish making more of this fact, indeed making a large point, here and elsewhere in the book, of the psychological significance of names. Thus he finds the name Harriet an important element in the "overdetermination" that led John Stuart Mill to his "choice" of Harriet Taylor, a choice that was "not accidental". Conceding the commonness of the name at that time, he finds this insufficient explanation of the "astounding" prevalence of Harriets in Mill's emotional life. Nor is he deterred by a cryptic reservation about the psychoanalytic method itself: "Thus, while realizing the limitations of this sort of orthodox Freudian analysis, we cannot allow ourselves to dismiss it." So far from dismissing it, he proceeds to make the most of it.

Mill's mother, we are told, was twenty-three when she married James Mill, Harriet Taylor was the same age when she met John Mill (one would think that a psychohistorian especially would be wary of equating "married" with "met"); both Harriets had mothers named Harriet (not much of a coincidence at a time when children were frequently named after their parents); "like John Stuart Mill's mother, Harriet Taylor was also married" (but John's mother was not "also married" at the time she met James Mill—she was "also married" when John met Harriet Taylor, which is to say nothing more than that she was John's mother); Mill is said to have "admired" Harriet Baring before meeting Harriet Taylor (but he was also reputedly attracted to a Sarah and an Eliza); the similarity of "Harriet Baring" and "Harriet Burrow" (his mother's maiden name) lends "plausibility" to the story that Mill was attracted to Harriet Baring (a typical example of circular reasoning). A fair amount of the "evidence" is of this order—of the kind that the psychoanalyst justifies by the concept of "overdetermination", but that goes against the ordinary canons of logical and historical reasoning.

Mazlish, however, is attempting something much more ambitious than this rather mechanical application of a familiar psychoanalytic device. In the name of psychohistory he is claiming to test and possibly amend psychoanalysis itself. By placing the psychoanalytic "constants" (or "biopsychological givens") in their historical context, he professes to show not only how those constants manifest themselves under varying social and cultural conditions, but also how the historic "conditioning" affects the constants themselves. The implication is that the constants may not be as constant as Freud imagined—which is to say, they may not be what Freud took them to be. If Mazlish refrains from applying to himself the label of revisionist, he does not hesitate to challenge Freudianism at its critical point. It is of nothing less than the Oedipal complex that he puts the question: "Was Freud right?" His own answer is not as forthright as the question. But the question has been fairly put, and the critical reader is provided with enough material to stimulate thought.

The two facets of Mazlish's enterprise, the historical and psychoanalytic, are plainly indicated in his title, *James and John Stuart Mill*, and subtitle, "Father and Son in the Nineteenth Century". Mazlish's first bit of revisionism is the suggestion that in the nineteenth century the Oedipus complex manifested itself in a "totally new way": what had formerly been a "patterned and secure" relationship erupted into overt and intense conflict. We are not given the evidence for the earlier supposedly placid relationship, Mazlish's focus being entirely on the later "generational rebellion". But we are told that the psychic rebellion was triggered by the "Democratic and Industrial Revolutions". Mazlish's capitalization of these terms is, as he would say, significant; it symbolizes his reified view of these concepts, as if they represented events that dramatically and totally transformed the human condition. Thus he has this double-barrelled revolution smiting everyone in sight—James Mill in a village in Scotland, Jacobins in Paris and London, a character in a novel about Russian nihilists half a century later.

James Mill, for example, the subject of the first part of this book, is depicted as satisfying both his psychic and historic needs by turning against his father, family, and country, and re-creating himself as a "self-made man". The psychological element in this process is taken for granted: "The self-made aspect of James Mill begs for an explanation in Oedipal terms, even though we have no direct evidence to sustain our speculation." The historical factor is presumed to be the need to adapt to the "new modernized society", to "bring about and cope with the structural changes of an industrial society". This brave new world, by Mazlish's own account, was a Scottish parish of about 900 people in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, in which James Mill's father was a shoemaker, his mother a former servant and a daughter of a farmer, and in which the young man himself was trained as a minister. If we may doubt the urgency of James Mill's need to cope with the "structural changes" of his society, we may be still more dubious of Mazlish's attempt to draw James Mill's father into the same modernizing, industrial, revolutionary milieu. Basing the claim entirely on the fact that he was a shoemaker, Mazlish locates the elder Mill in "an artisan class notorious for being above the average in intelligence and interest in political affairs, . . . a tradition stretching from Thomas Hardy and the Corresponding Society to George Odger, President of the International Workingmen's Association, . . . on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, a part of what in France was to become the sansculottes of the French Revolution".

After these impressively revolutionary credentials it comes as an anticlimax to be told, by Alexander Bain (James Mill's biographer and his son's friend), that James Mill's father was "industrious and steady in his calling, good natured in disposition, pious, and devout, but with no special claim to intelligence or any high mental quality". Mazlish rebukes Bain for offering us no evidence for his assertions. But the reader may prefer Bain's assertions, based upon first-hand research, interviews with the family and the aged residents of Logie Pert (in Forfarshire) to the speculations of Mazlish, in which, by a process of free association from the words "artisan" and "shoemaker", James Mill's father is linked with radicals, revolutionaries, and trade unionists spanning two countries and an entire century.

It is against this historical background that Mazlish sees James Mill playing out his Oedipal role. He cautions us against the "simplistic" view that the Oedipal conflict is always of the classic kind, the kind epitomized by John Stuart Mill, whose rebellion was directed against a stern, domineering, authoritarian father. There is another form of Oedipal conflict, he reminds us, illustrated by the cases of James Mill and Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, in which the father is either the passive member of the family or is conspicuously loving and affectionate. Here the Oedipal experience and the historical situation combined to make the sons "reject identification with the tender, loving father", "reject softness and emotions", so that they might remake not only themselves but their societies, toughening themselves for the rigours of modernization and industrialization.

And, of course, there were not only fathers, of one variety or another, to cope with but also mothers and wives. Here Mazlish has a wealth of material to work with: James Mill's ambitious and probably loving mother (an Isabel, unfortunately, not a Harriet); his wife, totally submissive and, according to her son, incapable of loving or being loved; and John's own Harriet, extravagantly loved and overbearing. In these cases, the psychoanalytic interpretations come more naturally, unencumbered by dubious historical assumptions. The several drafts of John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography* and his letters to Harriet Taylor (superbly edited by Friedrich Hayek almost a quarter of a century ago and recently reprinted in the Toronto edition of Mill's *Collected Works*) have long stimulated the imagination of historians and biographers. The story is so extraordinary that it calls for a special effort of understanding, in psychoanalytic or any other terms that seem appropriate. While particular aspects of Mazlish's analysis may be questioned—the relationship of Harriet to her parents, based on extremely flimsy evidence—other parts of it are novel and illuminating: the revelation, for example, that Harriet's paralysis predated the accident supposed to have caused it. On such matters a skilful psychohistorian has much to contribute, and here Mazlish is at his strongest.

But Mill (both Mills to some extent, but John Stuart preeminently) is interesting not primarily because of the dramatic or intriguing nature of his private life but because of the influential and inherently important nature of his public life—which is to say, his ideas. If intellectual analysis in his case takes the form of intellectual biography, it is because his ideas are so intimately related to his life. When he wrote his account of his breakdown, he labelled it "a crisis in my mental history". And so it is, in both senses of "mental". His *Autobiography*, as he repeatedly tells us, is the story of his "mental progress", and it is none the less personal and passionate for that; indeed it is the source of much of what we know about his personal life. (Only his profound animus against Utilitarianism could have caused Carlyle to dub it the "autobiography of a steam-engine"; and only the brilliance of the invective could have persuaded later commentators to decry the book's impersonality and coldness.)

The philosopher or historian of ideas ignores Mill's biography at the risk of missing or misunderstanding crucial aspects of his ideas. There is almost no major essay or book by Mill that does not, in the text itself, reveal some ambiguity, evasion, contradiction, or difficulty that can only be understood in terms of something outside the

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text. Filial piety inhibited the full expression of his dissatisfaction with Utilitarianism and Philosophic Radicalism in his early essays; his overtures to socialism in the revised edition of the *Political Economy*, so conspicuously at variance with the bulk of the text, cannot be explained without reference to Harriet Taylor, who inflated the changes; nor can the contradictions between *On Liberty* and much of his other work be accounted for except by taking seriously his own assertions that the work was a "joint production".

It is not, therefore, to "flesh out the human side of Mill", as is sometimes said, that the intellectual historian looks to Mill's personal life, but rather for the sake of the ideas themselves. Here lies the greatest potential contribution of a book such as Mazlish's, and also its severest test. And here too lies the essential difference between psychohistory and intellectual history. Where the latter is content to let ideas speak for themselves so long as they speak coherently—so long as they are consistent, serious, thoughtful, adequate to the thinker and to his subject—and seeks assistance only when that coherence breaks down, psychohistory wants to understand the ideas psychoanalytically, to understand them as much when they are coherent as when they are incoherent; indeed the very coherence of a system of ideas provokes explanation. The intellectual historian, in short, goes outside the text or structure of ideas only when he confronts a problem that cannot be resolved within it; his solution, therefore (drawn from history, biography, psychology, or wherever), applies only to the limited area of the problem. The psychohistorian, finding the text as well as the entire system of thought problematic, seeks a solution that will explain the whole—and explain it in the only terms that he finds compelling, that for him represent the deepest level of reality.

Mazlish makes an earnest attempt to avoid the reductivism implied in this enterprise—the reducing of ideas to another level of meaning or set of causes. He is not, he advises us, offering a theory of "causation" at all; he is only proposing a theory of "corresponding processes". Ideas, according to this theory, are not "caused" by character traits; they only "correspond" to them. In Erikson's terms, "identity" has become intrinsic to "ideology". Whatever the philosophical or semantic validity of this theory, the practical application of it presents some difficulties—more difficulties, indeed, than are presented by a theory of causation. Causation requires only the demonstration that a particular character structure (that of James Mill, for example) gives rise to a particular set of ideas (Utilitarianism, in this instance); it does not preclude the possibility that another character structure (that of Bentham) might generate the same set of ideas. Correspondence is a more ambitious concept. If character and ideas—"identity" and "ideology"—correspond, how does one explain the fact that Bentham's character was so notably different from Mill's? Although Bentham figures frequently in this book, Mazlish does not subject him to the kind of analysis to which he subjects James Mill and therefore does not confront this problem.

It is sometimes said, by psychohistorians themselves, that psychobiography, the study of an individual, is insufficient, that what is required is the study of classes, social movements, large historical phenomena. One may speculate that it is precisely the difficulty of establishing correspondences on a large scale that has kept most psychohistorians well within the parameters of individual biography, discouraging them from attempting even the kind of collective biography that would determine whether the leading proponents of an ideology do in fact share a common "identity".

The identity/ideology correspondence raises more problems than it solves. If, as Mazlish says, James Mill's "law of human nature"—that men will seek boundless power over others in order to satisfy their own boundless pleasure—expresses Mill's personal and intense need for independence, his fears of the boundless threats to his independence, and at the same time his "latent desire to be 'dependent'", are we to assume that not only Bentham but Machiavelli, Hobbes, and a host of lesser thinkers who posited a similar "law" were motivated by the same need, fear, and latent desire?

At one point in his discussion of James Mill, Mazlish does attempt something like a comparative analysis. Having asserted the connexion between Mill's laissez-faire views and his "fear of dependency coupled with the ambivalence thereto", Mazlish goes on to take cognizance of the obvious fact that Mill borrowed most of his economic theories from Ricardo. But, since Ricardo was strikingly different from Mill in background, personality, achievements, and almost everything else that defined his "identity", Mazlish has some difficulty in explaining this "attraction of opposites". In successive sentences, Ricardo is given the role of loving and indulgent father to Mill. Mill plays the part of "mother-as-pedagogue" to Ricardo, and (since in fact the two were of almost the same age) Ricardo also appears as Mill's "fantasied sibling". All this is followed by a typical disarming disclaimer that reaffirms even as it disclaims: "Whatever the correct analysis, we need some such speculation as the above to explain the strange bits of quotations cited, and to allow us to understand the loving relation to Ricardo, which appears so out of character for Mill." In spite of his own admissions about the vagueness and inconclusiveness of his analysis, Mazlish finishes the chapter satisfied that he has shown the "strong, unconscious emotional foundation" of even so abstract a subject as economics.

John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy* provokes Mazlish to somewhat different psychohistorical reflections. Mill's discussion of the "labouring classes", which he himself (and most commentators since) took to be an argument for the progressive improvement of workers, for higher wages, trade unions, and even experiments in socialism, interests Mazlish only in so far as it reveals Mill's "psychological attitudes to the lower classes". These attitudes, Mazlish says, were precisely the reverse of his ostensible ones. The very idea of "labouring classes", to say nothing of the presumption of "raising" them, bespeaks to Mazlish "elitist notions" about upper and lower classes. And this elitism has sexual implications, the spatial imagery of "lower" signifying the lower regions of the body, the scene of "animal" sexuality, compared with the upper regions of mind. This, in turn, recalls Freud's analysis of men who can only have sexual relations with prostitutes or women of the lower class—which, in turn, evokes the familiar Victorian attitudes to sex and women. All this to explain that, even while Mill thought he was arguing for greater equality, democracy, and social improvement, he did not really "mean it on the 'lower' level"—the sexual level, presumably, where real meaning resides. Again, one is tempted to wonder about all those generations of Englishmen—and non-Englishmen for that matter—who for centuries thought and spoke and worried about the "lower classes". On what "level" are we to understand them? Were they all incipient Victorians, sexually inhibited and therefore socially elitist? But, more important, is this the level on which we ought to understand Mill's *Political Economy*? What of the logic of the book itself, of its relation to earlier schools of political economy and to Mill's other works, of its reception by his contemporaries and its elevation to the status of a classic text?

It is here that Mazlish's book reveals its basic ambiguity—and the basic ambiguity of psychohistory. At times Mazlish seems to be suggesting that psychoanalysis does not presume to explain everything, that there is a realm of ideas (he does not go so far as to extend this to a realm of being) which has an independent existence; and indeed much of the last part of his book is a rather conventional examination of John Stuart Mill's main works without any very arduous or intrusive psychoanalysing. At other times, however, he leaves us with the decided impression that the method that he finds so illuminating, that probes the deepest level and exposes the inner meaning of reality, must be applicable to the entire range of events and ideas that make up a thinker's life.

Towards the end of his book, Mazlish quotes Isaiah Berlin, who has said that the principles of *On Liberty* are still alive because they derive from "acute moral crises in a man's life". "What Berlin calls 'moral'", Mazlish comments, "I prefer to call 'psychological'." It is not clear whether Mazlish is being innocent or ironic, whether he thinks he is merely translating Berlin into language more congenial to himself—a matter of personal preference—or whether he is making a significant philosophical statement on the order of Feuerbach's claim to have turned Hegel on his head. In either case, the transmutation of moral into psychological is a telling commentary on the enterprise of psychohistory.

PAUL SCOTT

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To the Editor

Writers and the Closed Shop

Sir,—Those of us concerned with the possible effect on press freedom of a closed shop for journalists must be grateful to Michael Foot for the considerable trouble he has taken as the responsible minister to explain his views so fully to your readers. However, his letter leaves the central issue unresolved.

Presumably Mr Foot would not deny that, if a single-union closed shop becomes general in newspapers, a journalist who is expelled from the union for defying its instructions, or who resigns from it on an issue of conscience, not only faces dismissal from his job but the prospect of being prevented from working for any other newspaper. This gives the union immense power over its members. It is possible—whether it is probable I shall discuss later—for this power to be abused so that a single organization answerable only to itself would impose a common editorial policy on all publications. This control would not be confined to staff journalists. If the employees of publications were instructed not to process certain kinds of outside contribution it would be a most effective deterrent to their use. The exemption of editors—as they themselves acknowledge—would produce only a minor amelioration of this situation.

This danger could materialize even if there were no political motivation on the part of the union. For example, the NUJ rule governing working practices requires members not to act "by commission or omission, against the interests of the Union". It is the duty of a journalist to report and comment on all matters he believes to be of legitimate interest to the public even if such reports and comments are against the interests of a particular organization. Yet it would be a legitimate application of the NUJ's rule to forbid members to comment adversely on the union's activities or prepare factual reports that it might find inconvenient. A short and not unreasonable step from this would be to argue that since the NUJ is affiliated to the TUC anything that harms the TUC or even the trade-union movement generally is against the interests of the union.

Indeed these arguments were used recently in an attempt to invoke the union's disciplinary procedures against an MP who was a member for using his vote in the House against a measure which would have benefited many unions financially; the complaint was quashed by the union's executive when the matter was raised in Parliament as an issue of privilege.

Clearly if there is political motivation as well the danger is much greater. Your readers will be familiar with the evidence of the success of the adherents of the extreme extra-parliamentary left in gaining office and influence in the NUJ.

Mr Foot rightly points out that none of this can happen unless proprietors and editors concede closed-shop agreements. The newspaper industry is notoriously vulnerable to industrial action, and Mr Foot's argument is rather like justifying the repeal of criminal sanctions against armed robbery on the grounds that a cashier threatened with a pistol need not hand over his money; he can instead refuse and defend it with his mortally wounded body.

Mr Foot's next line of defence is that the moderation and good sense of the NUJ General Secretary and the National Executive Council will prevent abuse. Unhappily none of these worthy people is immortal or even appointed for life. Even if they were, the NUJ's constitution is such that they can be overruled by any delegate meeting. The recent events at Cardiff provide the latest and further proof of what so many of us have said for so long: zealots, militants and extremists can exercise an influence over delegate meetings that is totally disproportionate to their numbers.

This leaves the question of whether press freedom will be better protected by the Houghton or Goodman amendments. That very aspect of Lord Houghton's proposal—the voluntary nature of his code—which so appeals to Mr Foot is the reason why it is [illegible] value, as your correspondents have been quick to detect. The code may be [illegible] dence before industrial [illegible] meaningless in practice, because in all the likely [illegible] it would be appropriate [illegible] the relevant legislation [illegible] specific as to override [illegible]

There is some force in Mr Foot's complaints about the Goodman amendment: it is [illegible] cerned with restraining [illegible] activity. This is perhaps natural in a Bill aimed at [illegible] trade-union powers. However, not Mr Foot's point be [illegible] Goodman's proposals were to protect the press [illegible] improper pressures, incl[uding those] from proprietors, advert[isers and] commercial interests [illegible] do not believe that [illegible] proprietors would have [illegible] objection to this, and [illegible] ought to be delighted.

Mr Foot has one other [illegible] mental objection to the G[oodman] amendment. It may be [illegible] the belief that if [illegible] take effective measures [illegible] themselves they are likely [illegible] voke unreasonable men [illegible] ing them. I do not believe [illegible] readers will be much moved [illegible] argument: indeed they may [illegible] the ultimate irony that [illegible] sophy of the Munich [illegible] should be adopted as his [illegible] co-author of *Guilty Men*.

Either there is or there is [not an] overriding public interest [in pre]serving the independence [illegible] and diversity of the press [illegible] interest either does or [does not] exist in the press only, [illegible] in industry and commerc[ially] ally.

If there is such an [illegible] acceptance of it is implic[it in Mr] Foot's letter—then it is [illegible] sonable to make the [illegible] special provisions in [illegible] tions legislation as it [illegible] earlier. Labour Government [illegible] sumably with Mr Foot's [illegible] incorporate them in the [illegible] and mergers legislation [illegible] is difficult to believe that [illegible] Foot accepted the marginal [illegible] tion in the rights of a [illegible] tion of the whole trade-union [move]ment entailed by the [illegible] amendments, for the benefit [of the] community as a whole, [illegible] rate would round on [illegible] because he has deviated [illegible] breadth from his party's [illegible]

R. F. FA[illegible]

The Institute of Journ[alists], Whitehall Place, London [illegible] 2HE.

Sir,—With forty-one year[s of un]broken membership of the [illegible] hind me, I find that what [illegible] me about the contributions [to the] closed shop debate from [illegible] and erstwhile colleagues [illegible] Foot and from the honorary [trea]surer of the London Radio [illegible] is the mixture of arrogance [illegible] cism and naivety which both [illegible] (masked, in Mr Foot's [illegible] the elegance of his language [illegible] elements are doubtless [illegible] by catharsis from J. R. S. [illegible] "occasionally published" [illegible] but he should bear in mind [illegible] were there a poets' union [illegible] tantly restrictive as the [illegible] ference showed the NUJ [illegible] to be, he would have the [illegible] difficulty in having his [illegible] sional verse published anyw[here in] this country.

ANTHONY HE[illegible]

Savage Club, London SW1.

Sir,—I am sorry to go on [illegible] this, but I hope others will [illegible] is important that the pressure [illegible] be kept up.

The verbose scholasticism [illegible] Michael Foot's reply (May 9) [illegible] nothing to answer the objec[tions] to his Bill. He says in effect [illegible] all legal guarantees of free[dom of] expression are to be sacrificed [illegible] they could cause any offence [illegible] trade-union susceptibilities [illegible] course it is important that [illegible] legal provision should be made [illegible] the legitimate interests of [illegible] unions, including the NUJ, [illegible] Mr Foot cannot see the [illegible] importance of free access [illegible] press he is unfit to hold [illegible] terial post in what is still [illegible] a free country.

For most of his career Mr [illegible] has been a political journalist. After [illegible] years of barking on the sidelines he now finds himself faced with a real responsibility. He immediately reveals himself as totally indifferent to the liberties he once professed to defend, and takes refuge in a [illegible] of trivial technicalities. A very brief exposure to the corruptions and difficulties of power has begun to erode his moral constitution. And if he imagines, at this stage in the historical process, that the "liberal example" of a few trade unionists is a sufficient safeguard of freedom one can only conclude that his mind too has been affected.

I regret the vehemence of this letter; but when a noted tribune of the people begins to rat on what he was supposed to stand for he must not be surprised if he arouses feelings of contempt.

GRAHAM HOUGH.

The White Cottage, Grantchester, Cambridge.

Sir,—As a freelance member of the NUJ Gillian Tindall, whose letter you published on May 16, really ought to know that it has long been the policy of the London Freelance Branch that there should be no "earnings rule" preventing low-paid freelances from joining the union, and that authors of books should be eligible for membership. At the recent Cardiff ADM both these proposals were adopted as union policy. Also, as another NUJ correspondent pointed out last week, the ADM overwhelmingly defeated a motion calling for the banning of non-NUJ contributors to the media.

These decisions hardly suggest that the NUJ is a "protection racket for the already-made-its" or a threat to writers. Indeed, many of our branch members are, in Geoffrey Grigson's words, "writers who live by writing and have no salaries and no pensions".

WYNFORD HICKS.

Editor, Branch Circular, London Freelance Branch, National Union of Journalists, 314 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1.

Matthew Parker

Sir,—I must make a correction to the notice you give of the college's exhibition, "Matthew Parker and his treasures" (May 9). The exhibition consists of over a hundred of Parker's manuscripts and printed books, illustrating his life and achievements and his benefactions to the university and college. It is not possible, in the conditions of the college library, to show also his plate. This is amply illustrated in *Matthew Parker's Legacy*, but I am afraid that visitors coming to the exhibition and hoping to see it must be disappointed.

R. I. PAGE.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge CB2 1RH.

'Neutrality and Impartiality'

Sir,—Although I am *parti pris*, may I make a few comments on Kenneth Minogue's review (May 2) of *Neutrality and Impartiality*, edited by Alan Montefiore?

(1) Mr Minogue's shooting from the hip results in a misdirected shot at my belief that impartial study of political theory requires the inclusion of various shades of socialist and revolutionary theory. He alleges: "The general line is that one must be fair to all the hot gospels being propagated . . ." I did not advocate inclusion of any subjectively felt gospel, and argued for the study of serious theories in terms of academic "balance". That "general line" for the book is rejected by Mr Montefiore (pages 18-19, 281 note).

(2) In criticizing us Mr Minogue claims: "The use of ideology to refute or discredit academic inquiry evades the only academically interesting question: that of truth." This merely invokes the distinction between "political" and "academic" which we found on analysis to be problematic in social studies. Without implying that any such distinction is untenable, one may ask how clear-cut in political studies is the distinction between "ideology" and "truth"? Can Mr Minogue offer a non-trivial and true (or falsifiable) elucidation of the concept of "politics" itself which is unconnected with one or another familiar ideological position?

(3) Mr Minogue's simple approach to such issues extends to his criticism of my account of the admission of students. He alleges "The question [of neutrality] can only arise if we are concerned with non-academic criteria." For the sake of impartial academic assessment and to identify the most promising students, many dons make allowances for notably advantaged or disadvantaged backgrounds of candidates. Have they adopted, as Mr Minogue thinks, non-academic criteria? Dons honestly disagree in answering this, and about how and which background factors should be considered, thereby diminishing the scope for neutrality on these "academic" issues. But it may also be the case that, whether or not one thinks impartial assessment is best served by making such allowances, either view has political implications. Mr Minogue's assertion blocks inquiry into what is doubly problematic.

(4) He alleges that throughout the book "two kinds of politics" are considered, that of a nation and that of a university's internal business. I use this distinction at times, but not at others because its edges become blurred, as students of the distinction between "society" and "state" well know. Indeed it is contestable how clear-cut the distinction can be, as my example of the overseas students' fees controversy showed.

(5) Mr Minogue alleges that I concoct a paradox by claiming that the preservation of a university's political neutrality is one of its "essential interests". But he confuses a university's "essence" (its central aims and ideals) with its essential interests. I identified political neutrality, as a practical *condition* for the pursuit of such aims, namely, free, disinterested, and objective inquiry and teaching. But, to defend conditions normally favourable to such activity, a university may have to act in a politically non-neutral way. Mr Minogue says nothing which dispels the dilemma except by imputing a view of "two kinds of politics" which is often questioned or denied by me and other contributors. Indeed he fails to reckon with the problematic nature of "politics", whose shifting and contestable boundaries are elucidated by Mr Montefiore (pages 33-42, 272-79).

(6) Mr Minogue alleges that Mr Montefiore and his contributors generate problems by referring to any defence of academic values as "liberal", thereby treating academic values as "one political opinion on the same level as others". He fails to consider the underlying tension, stated by several contributors, between (a) a characteristic liberal theory which distinguishes activities as "political", "religious", "artistic", and "academic", which provides the background on which his as well as my views ultimately repose—and (b) a theory which detaches inquiry into the validity of theory (a) from all "political" assumptions and implications and thus elevates such inquiry into something transcending a liberal position.

(7) Mr Minogue's sharp distinction between academic values and liberal theory fails to meet my claim about continuities in liberal concepts and principles involved in both academic activity and the wider society. Claims to freedom of inquiry by academics are closely allied to a kind of society which can endorse such claims, which are not, for this reason, devoid of serious "political" character. The simple distinction he ascribes to me, between politics inside a university and politics outside, falls short of the "kind" of politics which is of common content to universities and the wider society.

That someone holding such views as Mr Minogue should miss so many points is perhaps to be expected and lends support to one of the book's theses. But it is a pity that others should be misled about some crucial arguments in the book.

W. L. WEINSTEIN.

Balliol College, Oxford.

Sir,—Kenneth Minogue's memory did not serve him right (May 2). The county is Harlan in eastern Kentucky, not "Harlem", and the song is trade unionist, not "socialist", distinctions of some political significance in the United States. Still, as he says, this hypothesis (although truer) implies no policy.

DONALD N. McCLOSKEY.

The University of Chicago, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637, United States.

Sir,—Kenneth Minogue (May 2) remarks that "universities carried on well enough for centuries without admitting women, Jews or Nonconformists", but then in the next breath declares: "It is indefensible to impede admission to a university on non-academic grounds; it is no less indefensible to open universities up to entry on non-academic grounds." Has Mr Minogue never seen the standard UCCA form which explicitly invites non-academic information both from the candidate and the referee? Surely, in so far as it is a *community*, any university must consider non-academic criteria both in admitting students and appointing staff. The problem is what these criteria are, to be and how far they are to be given weight. But, if two students are more or less indistinguishable on grounds of academic merit, what else but non-academic criteria can determine the acceptance of one and the rejection of the other? Certainly a university's concern must be principally academic, but other considerations must, and do, play some role.

I. T. KER.

The Oratory, Edgbaston, Birmingham B16 8UE.

Among this week's contributors

Stephen Bayley is a Lecturer in Art History at the Open University.

M. H. A. Blanc is Senior Lecturer in Applied Linguistics at Birkbeck College, London.

Robin Briggs is a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

Gordon Brotherston is the author of *Manuel Machado: a Revaluation*, 1968.

John Butt is the author of *The Industrial Archaeology of Scotland*, 1967.

Janet Chapman is a Lecturer in Spanish at Westfield College, London.

Peter Conrad is a Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

Alan Deyermond is the author of the volume on *The Middle Ages* in Benn's Literary History of Spain.

Nigel Glendinning is Professor of Spanish at Queen Mary College, London.

Gertrude Himmelfarb is the author of *On Liberty and Liberalism*, to be published in July by Secker and Warburg.

Henry Kamen is the author of *The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe 1550-1660*.

Alaisdair Maclean's books include *From the Wilderness*, 1973.

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Paul Preston is a Lecturer in History at the University of Reading.

Geoffrey Ribbans is the author of *Niebla y Soledad: Aspectos de Unamuno y Machado*, 1971.

Anthony Thwaite's books include *Inscriptions*, 1973, and *New Confessions*, 1974.

Arthur Terry's books include *Catalan Literature*, 1972, and *Antonio Machado: Campos de Castilla*, 1973.

Stephen Ullmann is Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Oxford.

J. E. Varey is Professor of Spanish at Westfield College, London.

G. E. Wheeler is the author of *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia* and *The Peoples of Soviet Central Asia*.

Eric Young is the author of *Bartolomé Bermejo: The Great Hispano-Flemish Master* to be published later this month by Elek.

Explaining King James

Sir,—Maurice Lee, to whose studies on the period we are indebted, raises in his letter (May 9) important questions about the later career of James I. But he attributes to me a view which I do not hold. In my review I recognize that there is a "strong presumption" that James was homosexual but I stress that it is "less significant than the known fact, repeatedly manifest, that James lacked judgment in his selection of advisers". To restate my position: I do not believe that his bad judgment was sexually determined. My criticism of James is that, *whether or not* he had physical relations with his favourites, he "gave them so powerful a voice in policy". It was his judgment not his morals that I was criticizing. Charles I has never been accused of being a homosexual but his judgment of advisers was worse than his father's. The central figure in this century's most famous episode of political corruption apparently leads a blameless moral life: but the advisers he employed—and the advisers they employed!—led to the destruction of his government and career. I have always believed that homosexuality and premature old age are too facile as explanations of what happened to James I.

If the explanation is immensely complex, part of it lies in the nature of government itself. Every ruler operates on two levels, the personal and the official, that is, he has a kitchen cabinet and a body of ministers. Professor Lee argues that the King retained Elizabeth's ministers. True. But he diminished their powers and often thwarted their purposes. His advisers were different and it was they who did the harm. Royal favourites played a part in sabotaging Robert Cecil's Great Contract, the King's last prospect of substantial financial relief; and Buckingham performed the same service for Cranfield, the King's other great finance minister. What James carried through was not a palace revolution but a progressive erosion of good government.

Professor Lee implies that there is a contradiction in my view that James governed Scotland well and England badly. But is there? In Scotland he was at home. His letters show a remarkable grasp on affairs. About England his knowledge was, until 1603, secondhand and, even after he reached England, sifted through his Scottish and English favourites. A ruler who is only in contact with his friends will be told only what he wants to hear or they wish him to know. Churchill in wartime gained through having to face criticism in Parliament. Hitler, isolated by his dependants, lost contact with reality.

Professor Lee says that, in commenting on James's relations with Buckingham, I say nothing about Elizabeth's with Leicester. I do so gladly now because the contrast is striking. Leicester never gained the ascendancy of a Buckingham, nor did anyone else. Whatever her personal affections she never allowed Leicester to play Buckingham to Cecil's Cranfield. In her last years she destroyed an aspiring Buckingham in the person of the Earl of Essex—a man with whom James, it would seem, had allowed himself to be embroiled. Hence, when she ended her reign she was still Queen of England. In contrast, James in his last years floundered on, surrounded by Buckingham and his sisters and his cousins and his aunts, a feeble shadow of strong monarchy.

JOEL HURSTFIELD.

Department of History, University College London, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT.

Guernica

Sir,—Brian Crozier (April 25) asserted in the most absolute terms that Guernica could not have been destroyed by bombing. His knowledge of bombing characteristics makes that "impossible", etc.

The Economist (April 26) carried a detailed report by its Spain correspondent on how Spanish officials now concede that German bombing was responsible. One official is quoted as saying: "The Germans deceived General Franco completely, and he was angry when he learned the truth; but there was a war to be won, so the spokesman had to repeat the story for a time." "The story" referred to was the allegation that the Basques themselves destroyed Guernica—the tale that Mr Crozier's abstract knowledge of air war led him to accept.

ANTHONY LEWIS.

8 Lowell Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138, USA.

Sir,—Long ago I resigned myself to thinking that the truth about Guernica will never be established. As the chairman of the Anglo-Spanish Construction Co, which owned the capital of the Ferrocarril Santander-Mediterraneo, I was in Burgos at the time. We heard that Guernica had been destroyed. Two days after the destruction I sent my managing director, D. José de Aquinaga, to report. Guernica was not far from one of our stations. He came back and said there was not a single bomb-crater in any of the streets. The town, or a good part of it, had been burnt by someone. Sr Aquinaga, as his many friends will testify, was a man of scrupulous honesty.

It may be that the burning was caused by incendiary bombs. I have not the expert knowledge to know if that was possible at that time. But it cannot have been destroyed by explosive bombs. So one has to choose between deliberate arson by the retreating inhabitants or incendiary bombs dropped by the Germans.

ECCLES.

House of Lords, London SW1.

Henry James

Sir,—Quentin Anderson, in his lengthy review (May 9) of my first volume of the Henry James letters and his reappraisal of my *Life of Henry James*, makes at least one error which perhaps should point a moral to the editors of *The Times Literary Supplement*. He quotes from my preface to the American edition of the fourth volume, *The Treacherous Years*, a sentence which—after much thought—I deleted from the English edition. My argument was that a biographer is justified (in our modern understanding of psychology) in using a writer's imaginative works as so much significant data about the writer's life of the imagination. Mr Anderson then quotes: "The physical habits of the creative personality, his 'sex life' and his bowel movements belong to the functioning being and do not reliably distinguish him from his fellow humans."

When I reread the preface for English publication, I deleted that sentence, for I no longer believed what I had written. This is the second time the deletion has come to haunt me in your columns and it must, doubtless, bewilder English readers, who would not find it in their text, if they consulted it.

LEON EDEL.

The University of Hawaii.

British Labour Struggles: Contemporary Pamphlets 1727-1850, reviewed in the *TLS* on May 9, is distributed by Aris and Phillips Ltd, Teddington House, Warminster, Wilts BA12 8PQ, not, as was stated, by Transatlantic Book Services. The price of the complete set is £220.

SACHEVERELL SITWELL
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The needs of communication

By Stephen Ullman

ANDRE MARTINET :

Evolution des langues et reconstruction

264pp. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

One of the most difficult problems facing modern linguists is the relation between structure and change, description and history. Reacting—or rather over-reacting—against the predominance of the historical approach in nineteenth-century philology, Saussure introduced his well-known distinction between the synchronic and the diachronic study of language and dismissed any combination of the two as methodologically unsound. Subsequently, this ban was gradually relaxed in various fields of linguistic analysis, and the distinguished French linguist André Martinet has played a conspicuous part in this process.

Although Professor Martinet has made notable contributions to grammatical theory, in particular in his influential *Eléments de linguistique générale*, which has been translated into English, he is best known for his work in phonology. Here his roots go back to the Linguistic Circle of Prague, which evolved the concept of the phoneme and laid the foundations for many later developments in structuralism, both inside and outside linguistics. *Evolution des langues et reconstruction* is also centred on phonology, with occasional excursions into lexical and grammatical matters, including a new theory about the origin of the French numerals *soixante-dix* and *quatre-vingts*. With one or two exceptions, it consists of reprints or adaptations of articles and reviews, some quite recent, others published more than twenty years ago. The general theory underlying the collection is expounded in the introductory section, and these principles are then applied to specific problems in three broad areas: Indo-European, Romance and Semitic philology.

Professor Martinet's theoretical position is unequivocally structuralist, with a strong emphasis on the communicative function of language. He refuses to see any incompatibility between structure and evolution and goes even further when declaring: "Ce n'est pas un paradoxe de dire qu'*une langue change parce qu'elle fonctionne.*" He advocates therefore a "synchronie dynamique" which is very different from the static Saussurean model since it seeks to "evaluate the progressive or recessive character of each feature". Changes in a system can only be understood if we have already found out how the system actually works.

Professor Martinet is particularly interested in what he calls the "economy of language"; one of his major works bears the characteristic title *Économie des changements phonétiques*. There is, he argues, a permanent conflict between natural inertia and communicative needs, between the tendency of individuals to reduce their expenditure of energy and the preservation of vital distinctions. Phonological oppositions which are isolated within the system and have a low "functional yield" are much less stable than those which are extensively utilized. Another aspect of the same tendency is the so-called "equidistance" between distinctive sound units, which is seen in such wholesale reorganizations of phonological resources as the Germanic sound shift; as long as the distance between neighbouring phonemes is maintained there is no risk of confusion or ambiguity.

Naturally, there are many sound changes which have nothing to do with the strains and stresses within the system. Professor Martinet attaches particular importance to contacts between languages, especially to the effects of bilingualism, which he regards as one of the central problems in linguistics rather than as an "exceptional, abnormal, almost pathological or teratological situation". He also pays attention to extra-linguistic factors. One of the most striking demonstrations in the book concerns a locality in the author's own native Savoy, whose dialect differs in a number of phonetic and lexical features from that of neighbouring villages; this is no doubt connected with the fact that for many centuries this locality lay on the French side of the frontier between France and Savoy and was not attached to the latter till 1720.

The theory of language underlying the book endows it with a strong unity and cohesion unusual in this kind of compilation. The book also shows some of the qualities which one has come to associate with Professor Martinet. The two most remarkable features are his keen sense of the realities of linguistic communication and the wide range of his interests. His realism is just as much in evidence when he discusses modern idioms as when he discusses intricate problems of comparative philology; in this respect, his treatment of those mysterious entities, the Indo-European "laryngeals", is a model of its kind. He seems to be equally at home in a wide variety of languages, ancient and modern, and in the reconstruction of their common ancestors. He uses contemporary examples to illuminate earlier developments: the adaptation of an unfamiliar Germanic sound to the Romance of Gaul is illuminated by similar experiences of French prisoners of war in Germany. His style is always clear and at times incisive. There are some scathing remarks on traditional philologists: Western dialectologists are described as "antiquarians"; comparatists are pictured as projecting their data on to a screen called Primitive Indo-European and using vowel gradation as a kind of "bric-à-brac" which conceals our ignorance of Indo-European phonology. There are similar strictures against "pan-substratists": philologists who rely excessively on linguistic substrata about which we know little or nothing at all.

In a book which puts forward so many new ideas and hypotheses, there are inevitably details with which some readers will disagree. Students of French, for example, may feel that the account of the decay of the Past Historic and Imperfect Subjunctive is too narrow; they may doubt whether the speech-habits of the Romance population of Northern Gaul were extensively influenced by Anglo-Frisian; they may be unconvinced by the suggestion that *septante* was less resistant to analogy than *soixante* because it was less frequently used and because it was a learned form in which people no longer recognized the numeral *sept*; surely the connexion between *sept* and *septante* in the written and even in the spoken language is clearer than the relation between *six* and *soixante*. There are also a few repetitions and overlaps between the various chapters, and one may wonder whether it was desirable to include in the collection reviews of works published quite a long time ago.

One curious feature of the book is the total absence of any reference to transformational-generative grammar. This is all the more surprising in that, following the publication, in 1968, of Chomsky and Halle's *The Sound Pattern of English*, a great deal of work has been done on the phonological component of such a grammar. It could of course be argued that the two theories are so totally different that any attempt at reconciling or even combining them would be futile. One wonders, though, whether this is really the case. After all, transformational-generative grammar is based on the concept of linguistic competence which enables native speakers to produce and *understand* an infinite number of grammatically, semantically and phonotically well-formed sentences. But if competence includes understanding, i e communication, it is bound to be relevant to a theory focused on the communicative function of language.

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Domains and dialects

By R. B. Le Page

RICHARD BAUMAN and JOEL SHERZER (Editors) :

Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking

501pp. Cambridge University Press. £9 (paperback, £3.60).

Whatever the force of Edmund Leach's defence of British anthropologists against the charge of neglecting linguistics (*TLS*, July 19, 1974), I do not recollect seeing many recent papers from their hands of the quality and depth of most of those in *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. It has been a great pleasure to read. It opens with Gillian Sankoff, a Canadian sociolinguist, who has rapidly come to the fore in recent years with her studies of Montreal French and of New Guinea pidgin-speaking communities, and closes with an epilogue from Dell Hymes. In all there are twenty-one papers: none is negligible, many make a considerable impact.

Dr Sankoff's paper comes closest to linguistic theory. In "A quantitative paradigm for the study of communicative competence" she follows and extends Labov's modifications of the Chomskyan model—through variable units and variable rules—so as to try and make it fit observed performance, "to systematically and rigorously relate . . . performance to competence". The fact that both she and Labov remain, in my opinion, prisoners of the wrong model does not lessen my respect for her system and rigour, or for the insight she achieves into the structure and variation within a speech-community.

The two following papers, Jean Jackson's "Language identity of the Colombian Vaupés Indians", and James J. Fox's "Our ancestors spoke in pairs": Rotinese views of language, dialect and code", both explore, in a stimulating way, parameters of variation long unfamiliar to the Indo-Europeanist. For the inhabitants of the many scattered long-houses of the Vaupés Indians, to maintain the separate identity of one's language is to retain knowledge of one's genealogical identity (and hence, presumably, to maintain a barrier against incest). In spite of marriage between long-houses and a pride in polyglottism, the social need for family identification inhibits the modification of the languages in contact, and works more powerfully among the men than the women.

A not dissimilar situation obtains among the Rotinese; dress and language are the prime marks of identity—there are eighteen "domain dialects"; the claim of a domain to its unique dialect implies also a claim to political activity, a "unique law and court procedure for dealing with litigation and other 'affairs' of state". The ritual use of parallelisms involves "many synonymous sets . . . composed of one term from the eastern division of domain dialects and one from the western division". Competence in this ritual language thus reflects both the general historical unity and the separate political identity of the eighteen domains.

The third section of the book contains four papers—by Susan Philips, Karl Reisman, Elinor Keenan, Richard Bauman—on "community ground rules for performance". These are the papers least concerned with the formal properties of linguistic codes, and most concerned with the social significance of particular kinds of speech act—the social semiotics of "time" in an American Indian reservation, the semiotic organization of contrapuntal conversation in Antigua, the relationship between *speaking* and *silence* in the acts of early Quaker ministers moved by the spirit, the organization of speech-making in Madagascar as between speaker and audience, or the role of men and that of women, and the styles appropriate to each.

Some of the papers in the fourth, fifth and sixth sections return to a closer scrutiny of linguistic properties at the level of style, register, genre or discourse analysis; Gary Gossen's "To speak with a heated heart: Chamula canons of style and good performance", for example, tells us that "hot" language is characterized by "redundancy and invariance of syntax, information, and cadence . . . ways of saying. These symbols matter. Ordinary language is typically cold in that it is believed to be idiosyncratic and non-redundant . . ." I particularly enjoyed Joel Sherzer's "*Namakke, Sunmakke, Kormakke*: three types of Cuna speech event" in which he analyses, first, the chanting by chiefs and the speech-making which take place each evening in the congress house of the tribe and appear to provide an education in tribal history, tribal mores and rhetoric; "medicinal" chanting or speaking; and that which takes place at girls' puberty rites. Among other things, Dr Sherzer illustrates the important roles of memory-training in an oral society; the differential role of memory in the language of literate as opposed to non-literate societies and the significance of this for syntactic theory, which is usually ignored completely by linguists.

Allen D. Grimshaw ("Data and data use in an analysis of communicative events") is justified in claiming: "The papers in this volume present a wide range and impressive quantity of new empirical data on how people talk and on the rules which govern that talk and its interpretation." He goes on to defend his "aesthetic inclination towards formalism (which I think is not incompatible with the richness of ethnographic description which none of us want to lose)". And so we can return to Dr Sankoff, in whose paper the linguist and the social anthropologist most satisfyingly meet. I wish I could feel that Britain was producing a generation of Sankoffs to humanize and illuminate the generations of Noam. Perhaps the work of M. A. K. Halliday and his followers on register and discourse will help.

The production of the book is not quite up to the usual excellence of the Cambridge University Press.

As she is taught

By M. H. A. Blanc and P. Meara

W. A. BENNETT :

Applied Linguistics and Language Learning

352pp. Hutchinson Educational. £5.75.

Applied Linguistics and Language Learning marks what W. A. Bennett calls "the end of a long intellectual haul from the close . . . of teaching . . . through . . . the insufficiency of the . . . techniques of language teaching . . . review of the provision for language learning". A claim such as . . . might lead one to expect the book to contain new insights into language learning, new applications of linguistic theory to the many problems faced by language teachers . . . at the very least a clarification of the questions that teachers . . . The book fails on each of these three counts.

Most of the ideas Mr Bennett discusses are already in common circulation, and the book contains . . . insights, or accounts of new . . . work. It is unlikely to . . . people actively engaged in . . . in this field. On the other hand, the book's appeal for the general . . . is also likely to be slight. Bennett's main concern is to . . . pound some of the basic . . . ideas of linguistics and psych . . . but he does this in an unhelpful . . . Sometimes he is inaccurate . . . singular contribution of Chomsky . . . the development of linguistics . . . been the establishment of . . . criteria for decisions between . . . able descriptions of language . . . quently he introduces complex . . . with inadequate explanations . . . ing that the reader under . . . previously undefined terms and concepts; throughout, the book is written in a style that makes . . . simple (or trivial) ideas seem . . . scure: "Traditionally the . . . language acquisition has been . . . to be that of its first appearance . . . or: "To see human beings as . . . mals with a capacity for social . . . tic knowledge must lead . . . questioning of the value of . . . divisions between categories . . . learners and users." The book is full of such incomprehensible passages, nor is it helped by the . . . ing in bold type of key-words . . . as knowledge, under . . . reality, etc, to indicate special . . .

More importantly, perhaps . . . Bennett's whole approach seems to have little to offer the language teacher. A book of this kind . . . to start from practical questions and introduce theoretical concepts as they are needed in order to . . . pen or redefine these questions . . . in order to suggest tentative . . . tions, or avenues for further research. Few practical problems are discussed at all; none in any depth. Indeed, Mr Bennett's own experience with "the close concern of teaching" is hardly in evidence. Syllabus planning, for example, a common problem for teachers working outside the normal examination framework, is dismissed in a few lines, each of which begs a number of questions, while some discussion of the issues . . . have been very welcome: "A . . . bus may combine a number of . . . ments (a list of language items, specification of language use . . . a statement of examination . . . tions; opportunities for learning and aids to learning)." Yet this is surely an area where one would expect linguistics to be most valuable. Important concepts like context of situation are handled in a superficial way; language as social behaviour is not properly considered; motivation gets scant discussion; aptitude does not appear to be mentioned at all; while important new developments in achievement testing such as Cloze tests are mentioned only briefly in passing.

Perhaps the most serious criticism that can be made of the book is that it raises no new questions . . . Mr Bennett is content with restating the current orthodoxies and . . . answers they provide. In fact, these orthodoxies do not adequately explain what happens when a student learns a foreign language . . . true extent of our ignorance in this field is appalling.

Functionalism's prophet

By Stephen Bayley

WILLIAM RICHARD LETHABY :

Architecture, Mysticism and Myth

Introduction by Godfrey Rubens

280pp. Architectural Press. £4.95. (paperback, £2.35)

. . . his historical reputation is . . . William Lethaby's historic tragedy was to have said the . . . things as Le Corbusier but . . . less force and influence . . . robbed him of any chance of . . . real status among the . . . chroniclers of the theory of . . . in the twentieth century.

. . . or so years before the . . . Swiss made *his* eternal . . . comparison between a house and . . . Lethaby was boldly stating "damp, cracked and leaky . . . architecture" must give way to . . . as efficient as a bicycle". . . . Lethaby predicted the . . . dogma of the Modern . . . in the fields of architecture, education and the role of . . . and ornament. In both . . . Lethaby's attitude was modelled on arts and crafts idealism by . . . Ruskin's puritanism. Fashioning his attitude to materials from . . . craftsman's respect for . . . of purpose in the use of . . . or stone, Lethaby evolved a . . . which was the very . . . of Arts and Crafts . . . thought that whatever was built well would look well and, at once damning the crudity of modern engineering and praising the functional simplicity of agriculture (in Lethaby's view, the only art senior to building), he gathered round him under the banner of "Oh, ornament, what dreadful things are done in your name" all those artists of advanced taste who desired an escape from the sham deceptions of late Victorian historicism.

Between his birth in 1857 and his death in 1931 Lethaby, for the son of a Barnstaple carpenter, achieved spectacular progress in the world of art. After being apprenticed to a Devonshire architect he moved to London in 1879 and fell under the influence of Norman Shaw, the Art Workers' Guild and the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, respectively. In the 1890s he travelled to the Near East and, on his return, wrote an authoritative study of the Byzantine church of Haghia Sophia in Istanbul which was published in book form in 1894. In 1896 he joined the radical, new Central School of Art and Design and in 1900 became the first professor of design at the Royal College of Art. Between 1900 and 1906 he enhanced his reputation as a scholar with his publications concerned with Westminster Abbey and in 1911 his major polemical work *Form in Civilisation* appeared. In 1915 he was instrumental in the formation of the Design Industries Association, inspired by the model of the German *Werkbund*, and his life of Philip Webb, one of his intellectual guiding stars, was published in 1925 and has yet to be surpassed in either scholarship or style.

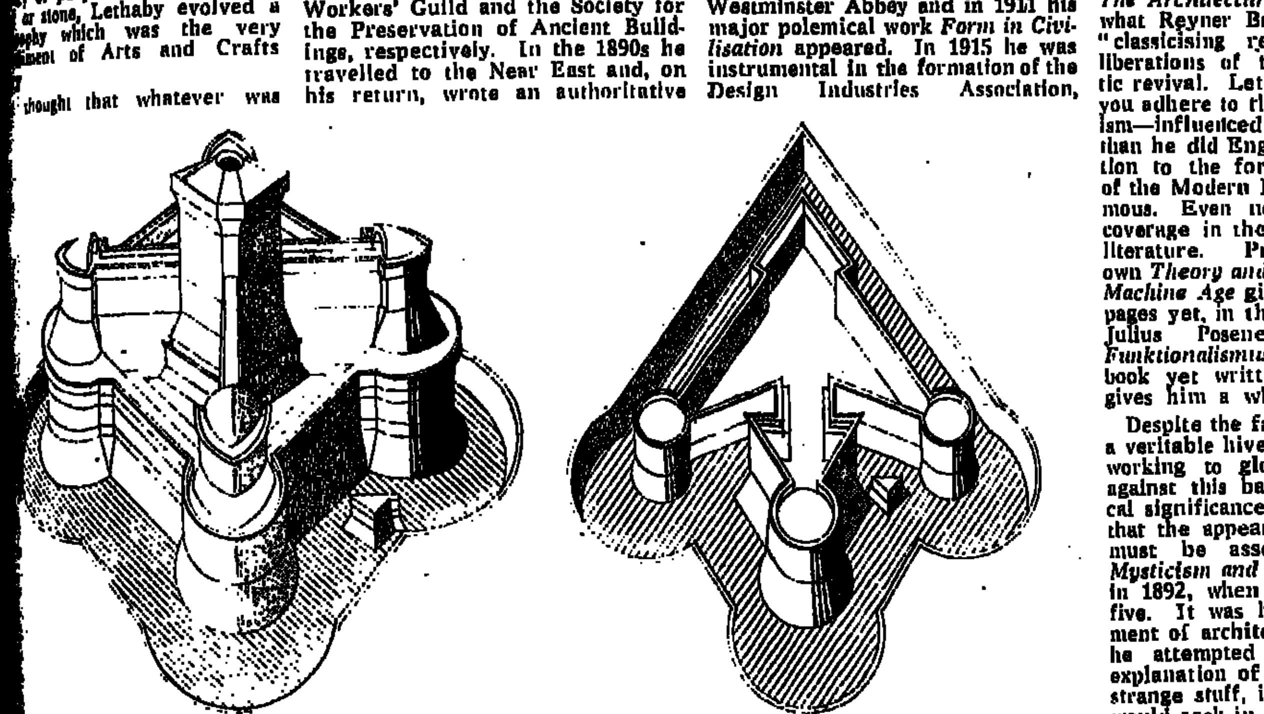
It is Germany which makes Lethaby so very important. Up to about 1905, England's lead in art and architecture was unquestioned throughout Europe. Houses like Lethaby's own Avon Tyrell of 1892 were profoundly influential examples of the English Free Planning which Muthesius made famous in his *Das englische Haus*. It was only in Germany that the start which Lethaby gave to the Modern Movement was really welcomed. At home, Geoffrey Scott's *The Architecture of Humanism* led what Reyner Banham has called a "classicising revolt" against the liberations of the English domestic revival. Lethaby—sad to say, if you adhere to the tenets of modernism—influenced Germany more than he did England. His contribution to the formation and growth of the Modern Movement was enormous. Even now, he gets flimsy coverage in the usual architectural literature. Professor Banham's own *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* gives him a mere four pages yet, in the German language, Julius Posener's *Anfänge des Funktionalismus* (by far the best book yet written on the subject) gives him a whole section.

Despite the fact that there is now a veritable hive of academic drones working to glorify Lethaby, it is against this background of historical significance and critical neglect that the appearance of this reprint must be assessed. *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* was published in 1892, when Lethaby was thirty-five. It was his first major statement of architectural attitude. In it he attempted to find an occult explanation of architectural form—strange stuff, indeed, for those who would seek in Lethaby a key to the Apollonian philosophy of the Modern Movement.

It would be churlish to criticize Lethaby's scholarship by contemporary standards; in academic matters he was long ago overtaken by the likes of E. Baldwin Smith, Louis Hautecoeur and H. P. l'Orange. Judged in its own right, *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* is a late-nineteenth-century set-piece: a combination of fin-de-siècle spookery and the evolving personal philosophy of a genius who sought to give to architecture credentials other than those of the traditional axial planning of academy classicism. He employed what is—by modern standards—a sloppy method. His technique was to precis what he read—and he read a lot!—touching on the magical associations of architecture.

But, from the historiographic point of view, what is really important is not so much Lethaby's own book but the Architectural Press's decision to reprint it in this form. With this book, they could have inaugurated a new edition of the works of Lethaby which might have enabled architectural students and historians alike to form some real judgment of the quality of Lethaby's contribution to the theory of modern architecture. Sadly, this they have not done. Instead, we find a book designed to compete with the latest intellectual flatulence of Erich von Däniken. Lethaby deserves better shelf-mates than a *Chariots of the Gods* or an *Old Straight Track*.

His was not the first attempt to explain architecture by other than aesthetic criteria; in this he was beaten by Vitruvius and von Schelling and completely routed by E. Baldwin Smith and Rudolf Wittkower. However, when Wittkower's *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* came out in 1949, it influenced a whole new generation of architectural students with its analysis of architecture in terms of mathematical and geometrical harmony. A quarter of a century on, less classical and less sure, shaken by what recent generations have done with Le Corbusier via Wittkower, we might, however, welcome the influence of some hocus-pocus in architectural design.



Two forts, after Francesco di Giorgio, reproduced in Military Architecture.

Designed for defence

Simon Pepper

QUENTIN HUGHES :

Military Architecture

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The study of fortifications offers . . . opportunities to the architectural historian. More perhaps than any other type of building they evolved in response to the challenge of new weapons or tactics. As such, they would . . . provide a near perfect . . . for the proposition (not . . . ago it would have been necessary "article of faith") that . . . follows function". Indeed, . . . one considers the bewildering . . . and complexity of the subject, . . . surprising that Quentin Hughes's *Military Architecture* . . . be the first book in English . . . attempt a complete survey of the . . .

. . . Vauban was not being unduly modest when he confessed that . . . architecture of war was "a . . . beyond our strength: it . . . too many things for one . . . to make himself perfectly master of it". Writing in the late . . . seventeenth century Vauban could look back on 200 years of unprecedented change. The process had been set in motion by the introduction of relatively mobile siege artillery firing iron shot which . . . short work of the slender . . . and curtains of medieval . . . and forced the development of a new system of low-profile ramparts, sunk in deep ditches, protected by triangular bastions and the ravelins, demi-lunes, hornworks and crownworks well known to friends of Uncle Toby.

. . . nineteenth-century advances in artillery exercised an even more . . . effect. Fortifications were dispersed and submerged. . . . the Chevalier Bayard had . . . the Emperor from the ramparts of Mézières, his successors . . . to fight a troglodyte war . . . networks of air-conditioned . . . beneath a thick carapace of concrete, protected by barbed wire and machine-guns, and armed with quick-firing howitzers mounted in power-operated revolving steel cupolas. The pace of change was extraordinary. Moreover, mastery of the subject demands not only knowledge of the structures raised over a period of well over 2,000 years, but command of a theoretical literature extending from Renaissance treatises to the modern journals of the Corps of Artillery and Engineers, plus a "feel" for topography, siege tactics and the handling of weapons.

These problems, of course, become more acute in the post-medieval periods, which had been particularly neglected in Britain until, in 1973, Keith Mallory and Arvid Ottar published *Architecture of Aggression*, covering the military architecture of the two world wars. Dr Hughes has now redressed the balance still farther. Less an excursion than a full-scale expedition, *Military Architecture* sets out to provide an introductory survey of fortification from ancient times to the early twentieth century.

A short text of no more than 50,000 words (my own estimate) forces Dr Hughes to limit his study to European and colonial European works, and to eschew diversions into related topics such as the studies of military prefabricated housing, Mulberry Harbours and air-raid shelters which characterized Mr Mallory and Mr Ottar's broad-fronted approach. Nor has he been able to do more than nod in passing towards interesting side issues, such as the use of a military architectural vocabulary in predominantly civilian building. His discussion is restricted to what we might call "Combat Architecture".

This last remark does not suggest indifference to the more obviously "architectural" qualities of his subject. His excellent illustrations convey the rugged beauty of medieval castles as well as the straightforward functionalism of curved shot-deflecting surfaces, or of gun embrasures saw-toothed to prevent the entry of shot. At the same time, Dr Hughes has been ruthless in apportioning space to those parts of the story dealing with weapon-motivated change. Ancient and medieval fortifications, together, are given just over one-quarter of the text, the rest of the book being equally divided between the early modern period and the nineteenth century. This seems to be a good balance. The value of the book as a general survey would be diminished by any further cuts in the ancient and medieval chapters, even though little of the material presented in these sections is not already somewhere in print.

More than two-thirds of the text, however, is devoted to post-medieval developments and here Dr Hughes operates at two levels. For the transitional phase of the Renaissance he brings together work published in isolated articles by scholars such as John Hale, H. M. A. De la Croix and Eric Langenskiold (on the Italians) and B. H. St. J. O'Neil and L. R. Shelby on the British contribution. As the story moves into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he is able to combine his own original work on the defences of Malta with E. M. Lloyd's studies of Vauban, Montalembert and Carnot. The chapter on the nineteenth century is very much an original compilation. To be sure, he draws on the recent coastal fortification studies of A. D. Saunders and E. R. Lewis, but most of this material is the product of a thorough command of the technical literature of the period and of extensive travels throughout Europe. This is the best review of nineteenth-century fortification yet published.

The book is attractively produced and would be reasonably priced for the outstanding illustrations alone. There is a useful illustrated glossary and a bibliography, but no references. The last omission is unfortunate, for one of the functions of a survey is to provoke further study, and strangers to the field will find it difficult to follow up unidentified sources. This, it seems to me, is particularly important in a book that compresses a vast amount of information into a short text, at a cost—I fear—of some confusion among readers asked to jump, between paragraphs, from a discussion of the involvement of Michelangelo and Leonardo in both military and civil architecture, to the emergence of semi-fortified residences as Stokesay and Hurstmonceux.

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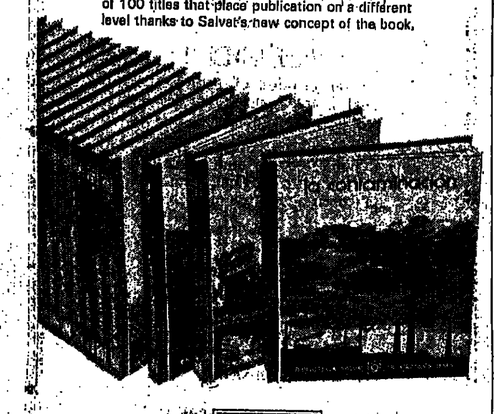

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SALVAT's LIBRARY OF GREAT TOPICS

Death of an empire, birth of literature

By Geoffrey Ribbans

H. RAMSDEN:
The 1898 Movement in Spain Towards a Reinterpretation
212pp. Manchester University Press. £4.95.

The term "Generation of 98", applied to Spanish writers who wrote about the problem of Spain from the time of the Spanish-American war of 1898, which resulted in the loss of Spain's last colonies, is evidently here to stay. Yet the underlying problems regarding a term which is imprecise in each of its constituent parts (it does not refer to the whole generation nor is the date more than symbolic) still remain. H. Ramsden makes a valiant though half-hearted stab at greater accuracy by speaking of the 1898 *movement*, but with, I suspect, little hope of success. Moreover, the whole subject is bedevilled by the existence of the contemporary aesthetic movement known as *modernismo*. The relation between the two tendencies, the degree to which they can be separated, and the allocation of certain writers to one or the other is a matter of continuing scholarly controversy.

One of the minor problems is raised by the figure of Angel Ganivet, linked more or less firmly by critics, and rightly so, with his contemporary Miguel de Unamuno. Now Unamuno is undoubtedly a member of the Generation of 98 if anyone is, but Ganivet, inconsiderately no doubt, precluded himself, strictly speaking, from inclusion by committing suicide that very year. This should not of course prevent the two men from being considered in relation to each other, and this is a basic feature of Professor Ramsden's book. Having thoroughly dissected Ganivet's key work, the *Idearium español*, in a previous book (reviewed in the *TLS* on September 12, 1968), he is now at pains to establish the links between the *Idearium* and Unamuno's slightly earlier *En torno al casticismo*. Although the latter was little known until it appeared in book form in 1905, the relation between the works and the two writers has long been recognized; their correspondence on the problem of Spain, entitled *El porvenir de España*, is in its way a minor classic.

The first part of the book consists of a comparative study of the *Idearium* and *En torno al casticismo*, which amply demonstrates the basic similarities, despite various differences of emphasis, the essential subjectivity and the inadequate logic of both books. Professor Ramsden, in my view, lets them down very lightly, and concludes by understating the obvious: "Geographical determinism, as handled by Unamuno and Ganivet, like historical interpretation, seems to adapt itself rather too readily to desired conclusions." What is the reason for this basic similarity? Professor Ramsden's essential thesis is that the unifying factor of the Generation of 98 is an underlying evolutionary determinism, deriving from Darwin and interpreted above all by Taine. In the second part he sets out to prove that Unamuno was subject to the same sort of determinist influences as he has shown elsewhere to have affected Ganivet and Azorín. Finally, he goes on to show in the third part that the same conditioning applies to those men who can be considered as belonging to or associated with the Generation: historical interpreters of Spain, on the one hand, imaginative writers like Azorín, Baroja, the later Machado, but not Valle Inclán, on the other.

To take Unamuno first. That he was permanently influenced by a cast of thought we can call [illegible] minist seems to me beyond [illegible] and Professor Ramsden [illegible] ward convincing evidence [illegible] impact of Taine, through [illegible] Spencer, whom Unamuno [illegible] lated, was also influential [illegible] the same time it seems [illegible] that he, like Ganivet, [illegible] singularly cavalier [illegible] after all purported to be a [illegible] method and proceeded to prove [illegible] cisely what he set out to prove [illegible] arbitrary selection of [illegible] features. An intellectual [illegible] determinism certainly did [illegible] duce a corresponding [illegible] our. Professor Ramsden [illegible] as other critics have done, [illegible] tinuity of Unamuno's thought [illegible] preoccupations before and [illegible] famous breakdown of 1897 [illegible] understandably attaches [illegible] little importance to Unamuno's [illegible] lalist phase and, less justifiably [illegible] haps, plays down the significance [illegible] of the crisis itself. As a consequence he seems surprised at Unamuno's later reaction against Taine [illegible] underlying determinism, [illegible] nowhere criticized.

Why this is so seems to me [illegible] Unamuno continues to accept [illegible] minism intellectually, but [illegible] spiritual revulsion against it [illegible] son has brought him to a [illegible] leaving his ontological [illegible] without outlet, so that other [illegible] these vitalistic urges take [illegible] seek to drive him back [illegible] same tramlines in the opposite [illegible] ection. Continuity of a sort [illegible] assured, for he has no escape [illegible] he can do is to react within [illegible] terms of reference, or, to [illegible] the metaphor, to shuttle between [illegible] opposing terminal of determinism [illegible] son and irrational faith. The [illegible] ponents, rail or, imagined [illegible] faith (Carlyle, Emerson, [illegible] gaard) become his new heroes [illegible] Spencer and Taine are [illegible] out being intellectually refuted [illegible] experimental novels *Amor y pedagogía* (1902) and *Niebla* (1914) [illegible]

[illegible] into the argument by Professor Ramsden, demonstrate all too [illegible] Unamuno's agonizing attempt [illegible] deterministic logic.

[illegible] Ramsden also hints at a [illegible] correlation between Unamuno's change of attitude to Taine [illegible] his abandonment of Europeanism. Again, the relation seems [illegible] as he comes to focus on the central *meseta*, in search of enduring values and a hostile reaction towards Madrid; Barcelona, the most dynamic and turbulent urban centre in Spain, was studiously ignored, except by Unamuno. So far as nature is concerned, Professor Ramsden very soundly interprets the Generation as making up for an inadequate Romantic movement, and corrects Laín Entralgo's view that man brings disruption to the countryside, demonstrating that man is on the contrary integrated into the world of nature, whether nature is viewed as sympathetic or hostile.

As we would expect, Professor Ramsden's work is meticulously thorough and its documentation is scrupulous. At times, however, its argument is reiterated to the point of tedium, and the combination of solemnity, insistence and scholarly caution (he claims only to be working "towards a reinterpretation", "towards an understanding") makes for rather heavy reading. In the final section, Professor Ramsden confesses some dissatisfaction at having dealt with generalities rather than individual achievements, with intellectual history rather than literature. Elsewhere, he has expressed a preference, which I share strongly, for the more literary products of the Generation and for "the magical transmutation of reality into personal experience and of personal experience into words". I hope that in his next book Professor Ramsden will allow his powers of literary analysis wider scope.

The impasse of determinism

By John Butt

DAVID G. TURNER:
Unamuno's Webs of Fatality
170pp. Tamesis Books. Distributed by Grant and Cutler. £6.50.

NICHOLAS G. ROUND:
Unamuno: Abel Sánchez
99pp. Tamesis Books. Distributed by Grant and Cutler. Paperback, £1.10.

A. SANCHEZ-BARBUDO (Editor):
Miguel De Unamuno
406pp. Madrid: Taurus.

Unamuno's reputation has spread to the limits of the Hispanic world and stopped there. The fact would have filled him with despair, but it is hard to see what can be done about it. Only a few of his works are wholly pleasing: he tried every genre and perfected none. His novels degenerate into essays; his essays into short stories or rambling poems; his poems, after their magnificent opening couplets, into appendages of more than usually stilted prose. There is little that will quickly win over the eclectic reader.

Yet the whole is magnificent. Unamuno's massive output was aimed at "nurturing his personality against oblivion," and is one continuous to read him, the personality grows, with all its perverseness, warmth, stillness and intelligence, until it overwhelms. This is exactly what Unamuno wanted, and to achieve it he tried every kind of literary and intellectual publicity stunt, including self-recrimination for the fraudulence of the whole exhibition. There are no objections to this campaign for recognition but made already by Unamuno himself; but the campaign has worked wherever Spanish is spoken, and an intellectual sub-discipline, *unamunismo*, with its Nest and generally wretched bibliography, has been established in its wake.

For a writer so given to self-display, much is still curiously obscure about Unamuno, either guiltily suppressed by him, or overlooked by biased or careless critics. (A notable example is the crucial *Diary* of 1897-99, published only in 1970 because, so far as one can see, it shows that Unamuno never reconciled himself to Catholicism.) The story is worth retelling with the facts that have come to light in recent years, because it is a moving and rather pathetic one.

Unamuno was born into a conventional Catholic milieu, and, despite the death of his father, seems to have had a placid and secure childhood. Removal to Madrid University in 1880 exposed him to positivism and Darwinism, and he lapsed from Catholicism without obvious trauma. Until his thirty-fourth year he was an agnostic positivist, with first Herbert Spencer and then Marx as his idols. In fact, after 1892 Unamuno was an important Spanish Marxist—a fact long ignored or suppressed by *unamunistas*. His was an extremely gradualistic Marxism, stressing the inevitability of socialism to the point where he seems to have rejected the need for political action altogether. He was nevertheless the country's most important socialist theoretician between 1894 and 1897 and a major founding member of the Spanish Socialist Party; and his own brand of Marxism, growing as it did from his Spencerian determinism, left a lasting intellectual conviction that human beings have no freedom of will.

Overwork, the birth of a deformed child, threats from right-wing elements in Salamanca (where Unamuno lectured in classics) and the threat of imprisonment for subversive writing, brought on a nervous collapse in late March 1897. The main symptom of his depression seems to have been a fear of imminent death, an overwhelming realization that his historicism provided no answers to the problem of personal mortality, and a panic-stricken urge to get back into his childhood Catholicism—which a summer of prayer and spiritual exercises did not satisfy, "it's strange", he wrote during this crisis,

> to feel one's self drawn towards everything one has despised and at the same time to go on seeing in it what one saw before.... Many times I start thinking *rationally* about my situation: and I invoke all that about childhood habits, the [illegible] and a thousand other [illegible] the hour comes and I'm [illegible] Church and hear Mass [illegible] know that it reason [illegible] back to my anguish [illegible] and never have peace [illegible] again.

The ordinary Latin [illegible] might have rejected Catholicism [illegible] favour of common sense [illegible] blamed the Church's [illegible] Unamuno's originality [illegible] rounded on "common sense" [illegible] blamed himself for increasingly [illegible] that he managed to throw [illegible] habit of common sense [illegible] of his life he heaped [illegible] and all its works—logic, [illegible] consistency, moderation [illegible] onymous in Unamuno's [illegible] hysterically abusing it in [illegible] *Vida de don Quijote y* [illegible] Against common sense he [illegible] the examples of Don Quijote [illegible] Teresa and even Christ, [illegible] made heroes of unreason [illegible] gift for persuading others [illegible] others of the truth of [illegible] untruths. But one never [illegible] 1897 or, after brought [illegible] confess and renounce his [illegible] sins, and he suffered as [illegible] of unbelief for the rest of [illegible]

One part of Unamuno's [illegible] henceforth deals with the [illegible] of faith, though he continued [illegible] disturbed by the consequences [illegible] determinism. He deals like the [illegible] lence of David Turner's study [illegible] novels, *Unamuno's Webs of Fatality*, which emphasizes [illegible] preoccupation with human [illegible] None of Unamuno's novels, [illegible] except *San Manuel Bueno, Mártir*, [illegible] directly concerned with [illegible] gion, and the image of [illegible] as an essentially [illegible] thinker should be [illegible] accordingly. There is [illegible] deeper rooted in me than [illegible] determinism of the will" [illegible] 1899, and that belief [illegible] operating in *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*. Mr Turner's [illegible] to the persuasive thesis [illegible] overdue) concludes that [illegible] of Fatality, often [illegible] one of the constants of [illegible] fiction".

> the protagonist's reaction [illegible]

This conclusion, and the [illegible] and exhaustive analysis of [illegible] which Mr Turner [illegible] important than the sources to [illegible] he ascribes Unamuno's fatal[illegible] despite his carefully argued [illegible] Greek ideas seem to me less [illegible] than nineteenth-century [illegible] mism in shaping Unamuno's [illegible] Mr. Turner's close analysis [illegible] the novels leads him to [illegible] "the extremely imporant [illegible] performed by imagery [illegible] symbols in them". In so [illegible] his book defends the novels [illegible] the grounds of the "thematic [illegible] ance" of their imagery, one [illegible] object that it is precisely the [illegible] of contrivance involved in [illegible] images which makes the novels [illegible] obviously intellectual. Yet so [illegible] to anything written before [illegible] Unamuno's novelistic technique [illegible] Turner's book, and so care[illegible] argued, that one is disinclined [illegible] Unamuno's determinism, at its [illegible] in the late 1890s, was ex[illegible] "You can no more change [illegible] world with ideas", he wrote, [illegible] you can change the weather [illegible] turning the needle on a baro[illegible] it led him into a night[illegible] impasse, and he tried every [illegible] intellectual trick to escape [illegible] it. In *Amor y pedagogía* he [illegible] the interesting theory [illegible] invents humour to escape [illegible] the "dismal" inevitability of [illegible] creations as a revindication of [illegible] tion. In *Niebla* the protagonist, [illegible] to find that his story is [illegible] written by Unamuno, tries [illegible] himself—and perhaps suc[illegible] before Unamuno murders [illegible] Augusto, in *Abel Sánchez*, [illegible] the personality is given, not [illegible] and wins Unamuno's admira[illegible] by fighting against the fact.

[illegible] Round's detailed study of *Abel Sánchez* properly draws atten[illegible] to the theme of free will, and [illegible] discusses its complexity within [illegible] novel, particularly the fact that [illegible] and some scope for freedom [illegible] stated but not fully exploited. [illegible] is a complicated book [illegible] Professor Round's study is no [illegible] complication; it gives a de[illegible] account of the conflicts in [illegible] novel, particularly the clash [illegible] of his own and society's ver[illegible] of himself, his urge to over[illegible] one of the constants of [illegible] and to preserve his own [illegible] the need and hatred of [illegible] his dependence on and resent[illegible] of his wife. It also points out [illegible] that the disturbing strength [illegible] denis to their own literary critics.

The chaos of the past

CARLOS LONGHURST:
Las novelas históricas de Pío Baroja
329pp. Madrid: Guadarrama. 150ptas.

The subject of the historical novel, no doubt under the influence of Lukács, has enjoyed a sudden upsurge of popularity in Hispanic criticism of recent years. As a consequence, despite the occasional over-ambitious book, like Madeleine de Gogorza Fletcher's recent work, which still attempts to pack in far too much, detailed studies in depth have at last come to prevail. Galdós's *Episodios Nacionales* have certainly gained by this tendency and three full-length works on them are currently available. The outstanding gap in the study of the Spanish historical novel, therefore, has been the lack of a detailed investigation of Baroja's twenty-two novels dedicated to the nineteenth-century conspirator Eugenio de Aviraneta, the *Memorias de un hombre de acción*.

Carlos Longhurst has now filled this gap. He has given us in *Las novelas históricas de Pío Baroja* a thorough and methodical study of the varied sources Baroja used—manuscripts, oral traditions, pamphlets, general and specialized histories—and has demonstrated that the apparent lack of plan in the series corresponds to Baroja's conception of history as arbitrary and chaotic. Baroja's approach to the civil strife of the nineteenth century was anti-traditional, not anti-historical. His basic concern, however, was with narration not historiography, and what unity there is in the series derives from the figure of Aviraneta as Baroja interprets him.

Whether or not one is convinced of the ultimate value of the series, Dr Longhurst has clarified Baroja's methods and intentions admirably. Moreover, he has resisted the urge, which seems to assail all toilers in this particular vineyard, of clobbering Galdós in the interests of Baroja, or vice versa: instead, he has provided a balanced and lucid comparison between the two novelists. This is one of the many merits of a concentrated and well-argued book.

Modernist masters

ALLEN W. PHILLIPS:
Temas del Modernismo hispánico y otros estudios
359pp. Madrid: Gredos. 360 ptas.

It is useful to have collected in book form a series of articles, already well known for the most part by specialists, by one of the diminishing band of American Hispanists who writes with equal ease and authority on both peninsular and Spanish-American writers. Allen Phillips is at his best when drawing on the full bibliographical resources available on a clearly definable subject, as in the studies which carefully plot the relationship between the writers most extensively treated in *Temas del Modernismo hispánico y otros estudios*, Rubén Darío, Valle Inclán and Antonio Machado.

Without this bibliographical prop, however, the result is likely to be critically indecisive, as in the essays on Lorca and Marti, while the 1955 article on Machado's *La tierra de Alvargonzález* all but lost its raison d'être by being pipped at the post by Helen Grant's publication of the prose version (*Cuitiburia*, 5, 1953 and *Atlante*, 2, 1954). The three articles devoted to Valle Inclán can still be read with profit, especially perhaps the details of the life of Alejandro Sawa, the model for Max Estrella in *Luces de bohemia*, while the three studies of Rubén Darío, though by no means of outstanding importance, are among the most substantial work to emerge from the inflated and largely uncritical centenary celebrations of the Nicaraguan poet in 1967.

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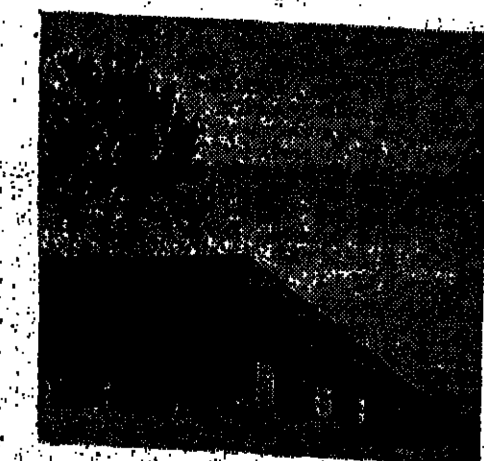

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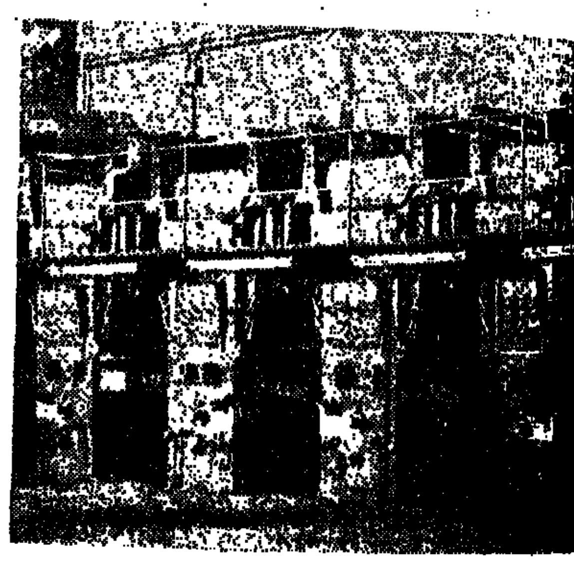

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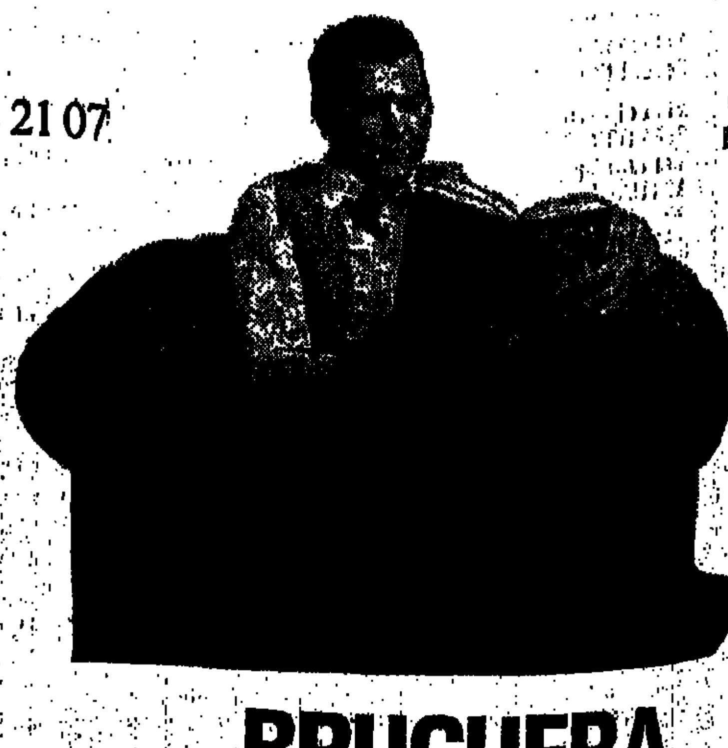

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Frontier life in Andalusia

By Alan Deyermond

...CHEL GARCIA (Editor):
...rtorio de príncipes de España ...obra poética del alcaide Pedro de ...vias
...p. Jaén: Consejo Superior de ...stigaciones Científicas.

...e reign of Henry IV of Castile is, ...real terms as well as by compari... with that of the Catholic Mon...hs, one of the least edifying ...iods of medieval Spanish history. ...e king was impotent politically ...d by near-universal rumour, ...ally, so that the great nobles of ...kingdom pursued their own ad... almost unchecked, corrup... gnawed at the fabric of society, ...ry's heiress Joanna was declared ... be not his daughter but the ...t favourite's bastard, the war of ...onquest against the Moors was ...gotten except by the frontier ...munities, and at one point an ...bly deposed the king, though ...out practical result. This is the ...tional picture, presented by two ...r satirical poems, by the chron...s of the next reign, and by most ...ers since then. It is, no doubt, ...erated: Isabelline chroniclers ... as unlikely to give a wholly fair ...at of the preceding reign as ... Tudor contemporaries are to ... a balanced view of the last ...agenet decades. The work of ...rical revision probably still has ...e way to go, but even when it is ...plete, our assessment of Henry ... hardly be favourable.

...t even a weak king can inspire ...ty, and two of the most admir... figures of Henry's reign re... staunchly loyal to him: ...uel Lucas de Iranzo, Constable ...tile, whose life is vividly re... in the *Hechos del Condes*...table, and his relative by marriage, ...probable author of the *Hechos*, ...de Escavias. Escavias has until ...been little more than a name ...ched to a handful of poems and ...unpublished chronicle, but a ...uscript in the Academy of His...ia in Madrid contains letters writ... to him by three monarchs, and ...r discovery makes it possible, ...h the help of other chroniclers ...of his own works, to reconstruct ...e which is full of interest, and ... to form a vivid impression of ... history and social reality in a ...ll Andalusian city at the close ...he Middle Ages.

...y a coincidence of a type rarer in ...panic studies than in English or ...nch, this collection of letters was discovered almost simultaneously by two investigators: Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, an established authority on this period, and Michel Garcia. The publication of their findings has also been virtually simultaneous, and I understand that neither knew of the other's work until after publication. It is very much to Dr Garcia's credit that his book does not suffer by comparison with the work of his senior; indeed, it and Professor Avalle-Arce's *El cronista Pedro de Escavias: una vida del siglo XV* (University of North Carolina Studies in *Romance Languages and Literatures* No 127) complement each other most usefully.

The Escavias family, from Cuenca in New Castile, moved to Andalusia in the wake of the thirteenth-century Reconquest, settling in Andújar, and it was in this city that Pedro was born between 1415 and 1420. It was natural, given his family's standing, that he should play a leading part in the life of Andújar, but the thoroughness with which he gathered all the reins of power into his hands is noteworthy: by his forties, he was military governor, mayor, and chief magistrate. This power was, fortunately, used with benevolence towards the citizens and loyalty towards the king. The documents and the chronicles show us a life lived in a restricted area, yet full of incident: raids on the Moorish frontier, struggles both political and military against rival magnates, lawsuits and ambushes, and in 1473 defence of the Andújar Jews and *conversos* against a populist rising which put Escavias's own life in danger. He was a loyal ally of the Constable, Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, to whose first cousin he married his daughter, and between them they held the south for Henry IV—successfully for *a long time, but in the end events* were too strong for them. Henry's opponents gained ground, the Constable was assassinated in his city of Jaén during the 1473 rising, Henry died the next year, and although Escavias was not dismissed *by the Catholic Monarchs* his influence was gone, and so was much of his income. We know nothing of his death.

The records also show, though a summary cannot, Escavias's character. Both Dr Garcia and Professor Avalle-Arce admire their subject's loyalty and fortitude. An "in-depth investigation" by really determined reporters would doubtless nowadays reveal a flaw in such a man, but at a distance of 500 years he seems to have had all the virtues. He was also a very good minor writer: certainly the author of a chronicle, the *Repertorio de los príncipes de España*, and of some poems, and very probably of the *Hechos del Condestable don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*. It was common enough for nobles to produce occasional (in both senses) poems in fifteenth century Castile, but a sustained devotion to the pen was a little unusual among those who wielded the sword. *Recent studies have* shown that the intellectual life was thought unbecoming to a gentleman, perhaps because it was associated with Jews. Escavias seems not to have cared, but to have given to his writing the same kind of loyalty that he gave to his king (though Professor Avalle-Arce points out that his prose works exalt the chivalric virtues, and would thus have been acceptable).

The poems—nineteen survive, one of them with a prose commentary—are varied in form and content. Most are short, rather abstract love-lyrics in the fashion of the day, but there are also political poems, an elegy, and a delicately humorous account of a meeting with a *serrana*, or mountain girl. They are preserved in two songbooks, one of which has been inaccessible throughout the century. Dr Garcia tracked it down, and was consequently able to produce the first critical edition of the poems, to which he adds an intelligent and perceptive commentary.

The *Repertorio*, here published for the first time, is a chronicle of Spain from the beginnings to Escavias's own day. It draws on a variety of sources (carefully tabulated by Dr Garcia) and, in the later chapters, on eye-witness accounts including the author's own. Though he can be credulous, as when he includes patently fictitious stories about the Cid, and though he does not draw on archival material (unlike the earlier yet technically more advanced Portuguese chronicler Fernão Lopes), he is concerned to interpret as well as to narrate, and the growing emphasis on Andalusia and on economic history gives his book a personal note.

Here we have history written by a soldier and administrator who knows how things work. He reveals his preferences, yet never uses history as a means of self-justification, as López de Ayala had done. Dr Garcia rejects the attribution of the *Hechos del Condestable* to Escavias, but—and this is the only point at which one feels that his book suffers from his not having known of Professor Avalle-Arce's research—his arguments cannot really compete with Professor Avalle-Arce's detailed comparative analysis. The *Hechos* is, in all probability, the work of Escavias, so that his general compendium of Spanish history is balanced by the biography of a single contemporary political figure.

In the face of all this material, it is embarrassing to reflect that Pedro de Escavias seldom appears in histories of literature, but we shall all know better in future. He is not a great writer, but he is a good and interesting one, and his life is of equal interest. Now we have the life described and evaluated by both Dr Garcia and Professor Avalle-Arce, the documents published by the latter, and the poems and *Repertorio* skilfully edited by Dr Garcia (a good edition of the *Hechos* was published by Juan de Mata Carriazo in 1940). Escavias is revealed in his true stature, and the history of late medieval Spain is enriched.

Count of Castile

FRAY VALENTIN DE LA CRUZ:
Fernán González
Su pueblo y su vida
157pp. Burgos: Institución Fernán González.

Fernán González is a picture-book—55 colour and 130 black-and-white *illustrations of landscape, architecture*, and manuscripts, well chosen and carefully executed—and also a serious work based on original scholarship. Fray Valentín de la Cruz has drawn on a fair number of manuscripts and archival documents, and has read widely in published sources (though, unhappily, hardly ever in languages other than Spanish and Latin). His text is chiefly addressed to a wide public, with simple exposition of apparent certainties, but the endnotes are aimed at scholars. On the whole, the compromise works, the strident and unthinking local patriotism which one fears in such a publication is blessedly absent, and the style is attractive.

Fernán González has a double *interest, as the first Count of autonomous* Castile and as the hero of the only extant Spanish epic written not in the traditional epic metre but in learned alexandrine quatrains. Fray Valentín is primarily concerned with the historical aspect, though, despite *his use of a poor edition*, he has perceptive things to say about the *Poema de Fernán González*. He and his photographers vividly evoke the historical and topographical setting, and he traces the way in which Castile, a mere county of the kingdom *of León, gradually but decisively* established its independence.

In his wisdom

FRANCISCO RICO:
Alfonso el Sabio y la General estoria
Tres lecciones
189pp. Barcelona: Ariel.

The works composed, or commissioned and supervised, by King Alfonso X, the Wise, in the second half of the thirteenth century form the most extensive corpus in medieval Spanish literature, and of all these works—prose and verse, historical, legal, scientific, recreational, devotional—the most ambitious is the *General estoria*, planned as a history of the world from the Creation to Alfonso's time, but left far from completion at his death. Only two of the extant six parts have yet been published, and this fact, plus the daunting length of the work (over a million words in the published parts alone), has delayed any general recognition of its literary interest and its value to the historian of ideas.

It is the latter aspect which concerns Francisco Rico, who in *Alfonso el Sabio y la General estoria* discusses the work's genre, Alfonso's concept of history, and the intellectual attitudes of his reign, including the defence of the Seven Liberal *Arts against the new, ultimately victorious specialisms*. He treats his subject with the vast learning, incisive judgment, and bibliographical virtuosity which have made him, at thirty-three, one of Spain's most distinguished medievalists.

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Catalonia without commas

By Richard Burrows

LUIS GOYTISOLO:
Recuento
644pp. Barcelona: Seix Barral.

Nationalist victory parades before ecstatic aunts morouic Jesuits competing with cavernous mysteries of the girls' skirts languid summers some nature lyricism more catechisms military service sex sex sex uneasy relationship with emancipated girlfriend and unemancipated family demobbed into labyrinthine sentimentalized Barcelona broadcasting white petals on dark sidewalks Communist pamphlets down neogothic neoromantic neoceltic alleys to find there will be no revolution brothels boredom always run down authority in this country arrest torture discourse on maturity nascent literary ambitions all shuffled into fullstopcommaless digressive riverparagraphs unwinding monorhythmically in matted multilingual dankdense sixhundred unproofed pages and three more volumes promised in same series.

Recuento by Luis Goytisolo is an example of the new Spanish novel. The old one died in about 1970 when the critics announced a "*promoción*" centred on the work of exiled brother Juan Goytisolo, Juan Benet, Ana and Terenci Moix and certain former members of the social realist school who repudiated their now obsolete, plain, intelligible prose and joined the baroque new wave.

It occasionally happens that after a period of earnest prosaicism Spanish writers rediscover their language—often reminded of its existence by the experiments of their Latin American rivals. 1900 and 1920 were two notable occasions; 1968 (or thereabouts) was another. Since this date some of them have been cultivating Castilian with furious and perverse enthusiasm: slang, regionalisms, Americanisms, Gallicisms, technicisms, archaicisms, the insipid half-Greek jargon of the left and the high-flown poetastry of the right, the staccato obscenities of youth and the Galdosian picturesqueness of age, all packed into mammoth, unpunctuated novels and discharged at the luckless reader.

For over a decade before 1968 the Spanish novel had been dominated by a colourless prose aimed at a theoretical proletarian readership. Baroja, Silone and Steinbeck were advocated as models, and any "elitist" or "escapist" complexity was execrated. Stifled by these self-imposed limitations, Spanish writers found themselves overtaken by the Latin American "boom". A new art for art's sake trend was clearly a matter of time, and its Théophile Gautier was found in Juan Benet who, in the interminable, stilted paragraphs of *Volverás a región*, seemed to provide an answer to the Latin American giants. Juan Goytisolo's *La reivindicación del conde don Julián* was also an attempt to catch up. Whereas social realism had destroyed literature by pandering to the tastes and intelligence of the popular classes, the new novel doggedly strove to be as artistic and unreadable as possible.

But it was only a superficial change, for the content of these novels—Civil War, generation gap, political corruption, religious and sexual neurosis—remains more or less unaltered. What has disappeared is the former belief in the value of protest, replaced by a taste for verbal arabesques. This is especially true of *Recuento* ... one is not put off by the ... and long sentences, only the ... tively detailed autobio... very ordinary, middle-class youth who rebels into Ma... tics and sexual emancip... makes a painstaking se... true Catalan identity. E... ences are commonplace; ... into the pedantry and dog... Marxism are truisms, his ... is utterly normal, his rela... with siblings, parents ... friends follow the usual p... rivalry, guilt, and con... prison experiences are ... Indeed, the hero reflects ... worst thing about life: is ... to be exactly as we feared.

Only the form is unusual ... complexity does not grow ... real originality of insight ... a systematic *dérèglement* ... rules of clear writing. W... point of these endless p... four or five-page senten... governed by upwards of ... jectives? Not, surely, to ... stream of consciousness ... tisolo's frantic, erudite ... reads nothing like the ... reflections of a relaxed ... does it read like a perce... busily analysing its own ... since the innumerable ... delighting architectural ... cal digressions destroy ... intellectual urgency. Th... can only be a parade of ... linguistic cleverness; a ... out of a writer's raw ma... heaps as a prelude to a ... application, but possibly ... own sake.

The moral seems to be ... cannot renew the form ... less one drastically ... themes. It may be that ... newal can only now come ... political or social upheaval ... which will generate a ... series of preoccupations ... sede the standard ones ... schoolboy trauma and ... the Civil War.

Madrid with gaps

By Janet Chapman

LUIS MARTIN-SANTOS:
Tiempo de destrucción
Edited by José-Carlos Mainer
Barcelona: Seix Barral.

When Luis Martín-Santos died in a car accident in 1964, he had already published a number of works—scientific articles, short stories and most importantly *Tiempo de silencio*, one of the major Spanish novels of the past thirty-five years. He also left a great deal of unpublished material; some of this has been withheld at the request of his family and friends, but the greater part of it has now appeared as the incomplete novel, *Tiempo de destrucción*.

José-Carlos Mainer has edited the book with great care, including not only the chapters which were to form part of the definitive version, but also alternative forms of those chapters, other variants and any rejected material which might show how Martín-Santos set about his work. He has attempted to organize this material according to the schema made available to him by the author's brother, from which it is clear that huge gaps remain in the novel.

The similarity of their titles demands that one compare the two works, and the comparison leaves one inevitably disappointed with *Tiempo de destrucción*. *Tiempo de silencio*, in spite of suppressions, is an organic book, the posthumous work a series of fragments. Martín-Santos had obviously taken on something much more ambitious in his second novel, but it is hard to see even the beginnings of unity. Sr Mainer suggests that after *Tiempo de silencio* Martín-Santos may have wondered whether he was the author of only one novel. In the last two years of his life he made a thorough investigation of the different ways of writing narrative, including a none-too-successful excursion into the higher reaches of the detective novel, and at the same time brought almost all his chief preoccupations into his work. In *Tiempo de destrucción* he not only explores all manner of narrative and descriptive techniques, but brings in such subjects as religion, superstition, witchcraft, atheism, manual work versus intellectual achievement, the battle of the sexes, rape, chastity, homosexuality, impotence, class divisions, murder, pollution, mental subnormality, the hegemony of Castile, and so on. He also continues his struggles with the Spanish language as a modern literary medium, whose results were so dazzling in *Tiempo de silencio*; in *Tiempo de destrucción* they are often pretentious and sometimes oddly tired.

Tiempo de destrucción contains many characters but none has the grotesque conviction of the secondary characters of *Tiempo de silencio*, while too many of them read like abnormal case-histories based on the psychiatrist's own notebooks. The presence of Pedro, the protagonist of the earlier novel, imposes some unity on the multiform life of Madrid in the late 1940s; but Agustín, the protagonist of the new novel, not only follows different professions—in early life he is studying for the priesthood while later on we meet him as a judge—but also appears to be at least two different characters, even if both seem equally concerned with the examination of reality and the discovery of truth.

Tiempo de destrucción is full of ideas and rich in literary allusions; it provides valuable material for speculation about the creative process and, one cannot help fearing, for innumerable theses of the kind that Martín-Santos might have called "mideluésticas" or "alvilliguistas". But as it stands it lacks the things which make *Tiempo de silencio* a masterpiece—the anger and the humour, the masterly style, and the vision which turns a sordid story and its puny participants into the stuff of tragedy.

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Supernatural intrusions

By J. E. Varey

JULIO CARO BAROJA:
Teatro popular y magia
... Madrid: Revista de Occidente.

... Caro Baroja's range is ...se, and his learning profound. He has studied folklore—in particular that of northern Spain—the ...s in Spain, the Moriscos, the Inquisition and witchcraft. As an anthropologist he has given us his ...dios sobre la vida tradicional ...ola, 1968, and *El Carnaval*, ... His study of popular literature, ...sayo sobre la literatura de cordel, appeared in 1969. *Teatro popular y magia* draws on several of these ...s, presenting a detailed study of the *comedia de magia*, a popular ...trical genre which had its origins in the seventeenth century and survived well into the nineteenth. Caro Baroja insists that, while the dramatic appeal of the genre was ...ed from its elaborate and spectacular staging, the content of the plays should be studied in the light of seventeenth and eighteenth-century attitudes to magic, both black and white.

...e sees the *comedia* as presenting a double interpretation of life. A world of high ideals, peopled by ...s, their ladies and respected ...es of authority, in which the supernatural is always treated with complete seriousness, has as its counterpart, or mirror image, a ...ife world of servants, comic ...men and crafty *graciosos*, where the supernatural can be treated ...ically as, for instance, in the ...plot of Lope's *El caballero de ...edo*. The world-picture of the seventeenth-century dramatist, then, based in part on Aristotelian, Platonic and Christian elements, in part reflects a folk memory of pagan superstitions. While Lope ...s to maintain a certain ...ect for these superstitions, Calderón, Caro Baroja argues, uses them in his satirical plays for ...c purposes only.

This distinction is, perhaps, too ...ly drawn. Calderón can indeed make weighty use of the theme of the magician, and the figure, with immediate dramatic origins in the *commedia dell'arte*, can range in his theatre from the grotesque ...ic servant to the intellectually ...sitive Cipriano of *El mágico prodigioso*, as serious a figure as Faust or Prospero. It is nevertheless true that, in many plays, superstition is presented largely through the comic figures; this may in itself reflect a certain disquiet, an over-compensation, for, if one kind of humour can demonstrate a feeling of superiority over the object of mirth, another type is concerned with holding it at bay. The *comedia* as an art-form undoubtedly grows in sophistication during the seventeenth century, but it continues to reveal an underlying level of folk superstition with elements of both black and white magic.

Early in the seventeenth century plays of spectacle based on magic were put on in the public theatres. Ruiz de Alarcón's *La cueva de Salamanca* is an early example, but Caro Baroja points out that later versions of this theme, such as Rojas-Zorrilla's *Lo que quería ver el Marqués de Villena*, show a significant change of viewpoint: the protagonist is no longer a magician who has made a pact with the devil, but a man who disbelieves in magic, although the play is full of spectacular dramatic effects. The greatest development of these scenic devices comes with the plays of Antonio de Zamora and José de Cañizares, at and after the turn of the century. Perhaps the most successful playwright of this genre was Juan Salvo y Vela, a tailor who took to writing for the stage. *El mágico de Salerno Pedro Vayalarde* (a somewhat distant descendant of Abelard) was staged in 1715, and was so well received that Salvo wrote four continuations. Cañizares's *Don Juan de Espina*, 1713, was an enormous success, and two further episodes followed. Zamora's *El espíritu foleto* also was widely acclaimed.

In spite of Enlightened attempts to ban the *comedias de magia* in 1788, these plays continued to form part of the repertoire of theatrical companies until well into the nineteenth century, when they linked up with plays of the Romantic period, such as Hartzenbusch's *La redoma encantada*, of 1839, and *Los polvos de la Madre Celestina*, of 1841. Caro Baroja sees the eighteenth-century *comedia de magia* as a force for enlightenment—"contribuyó a deshacer prejuicios, supersticiones y fábulas"—a theatrical counterpart to the essays of Feijoo. It can also be argued that the taste for the wonderful and the supernatural is a constant in modern literature. He notes that it flourishes again at the end of the nineteenth century in the cinema of Méliès, and the neogothic horror films of today can be seen as in some respects fulfilling the same needs.

The manner of staging of these plays is, as Caro Baroja points out, a most interesting question, and he sees them as a vulgarization of the court spectacles of the reign of Philip IV, "éxito, ahora sí popular y aún populachero. También infantil". Unfortunately he has not had access to N. D. Shergold's masterly account of the history of the Spanish stage, which would have helped him considerably in his task; Muñoz Morillejo's *Escenografía española* (1923), which he quotes, is a far from satisfactory guide. The court theatres of the Buen Retiro and the Alcázar were clearly of importance in this respect, and undoubtedly influenced the staging of plays in the commercial theatres, but elaborate scenic effects were common enough early in the 1600s in plays on the lives of saints (*comedias de santos*) as well as in the *comedias de magia*, and particularly in the *autos sacramentales* of Corpus Christi, which were performed in the *corrales* after the festivity was over.

Caro Baroja does not show a firm grasp of the realities of stage productions in Habsburg and Bourbon Spain, and fails to take into account the impact of the rebuilding of the commercial theatres in the 1740s. The way in which the elaborate machine plays of Cañizares, Zamora and Salvo were put on in the Corral del Príncipe and Corral de la Cruz on what were still basically apron stages, before the rebuilding, presents a knotty problem. Research in progress has revealed that scenery was borrowed from the Retiro on these occasions, but the exact detail of the staging of these plays up to the 1740s is as yet imprecisely known.

Nevertheless, Caro Baroja has given us a novel and exciting viewpoint from which to look afresh at the plays of eighteenth-century Spain. The great importance of his book is that it sees the theatre as an expression of popular attitudes and confronts these with Enlightened currents of thought. Dr Johnson defined the opera as "an exotic and irrational entertainment"; Caro Baroja rightly views the *comedia de magia* in the same light, but draws a very different conclusion. The theatre is at one and the same time poetic and plastic, and the taste for the marvellous in the theatre is not only popular but fundamental, "de raíz elemental y primigenio".

The friar at court

By Duncan Moir

RUTH LEE KENNEDY:
Studies in Tirso, I
The Dramatist and his Competitors, 1620-26
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Department of Romance Languages.

Under the pseudonym of Tirso de Molina, the Mercedarian friar Gabriel Téllez (1580-81?-1648) became one of the three most celebrated playwrights in seventeenth-century Spain. It is widely recognized that in ability and achievements he lays behind the others of the trio, the enormously creative and spontaneous poet Lope de Vega ("prodigy of nature", as Cervantes called him) and the consummate dramatic craftsman Pedro Calderón de la Barca ("prodigy of intellect", in the words of Fray Manuel de Guerra y Ribera). It has been argued that, if two exceedingly important *comedias* which are generally taken to be Tirso's but whose authenticity is disputed—*El burlador de Sevilla*, almost the origin of the myth of Don Juan, and *El condenado por desconfiado*, a fascinating religious play—are not really his, then he should be relegated to the dramatists' Second Division. Yet for some critics he is the leader of the First.

Studies in Tirso, I is the result of more than thirty years of intense research by Ruth Lee Kennedy, who has long been recognized as the doyenne among students of Tirso. It is ... with Tirso's relations with ... dramatists ... Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, Lope, Luis Vélez de Guevara and Juan Ruiz de Alarcón—during the period 1620 to 1626 when he was mostly in Madrid. Two more volumes will follow, on his political plays (including a new version of Professor Kennedy's widely admired pioneer study, "*La prudencia en la mujer* and the ambient that brought it forth") and on his relations to other literary schools and personalities.

The early and middle 1620s were a tricky time to be a writer in Madrid. An indolent king, Philip IV, succeeded a weak one. Both placed the government in the hands of favourites, and Olivares grew rapidly in power. Food was scarce, for locusts and repeated droughts played havoc with Spanish agriculture. The Treasury was empty and the cost of living very high. Reform was in the air, though little was really achieved. But Madrid was the Court, and writers were arriving from all directions between 1616 and 1621 to jockey for a living or for preferment and power; it was a perfect breeding-ground for envy, enmity and satire. In her first, and best, chapter, Professor Kennedy deftly evokes this "era of reform and rapid change", including the virtual end of the battle between the Aristotelians and Lope de Vega's school. She argues that the role of the *gracioso* (clowning servant or peasant) becomes more significant as the mouthpiece for the dramatists' satire and social comment; that political, social and religious motives and the influence of the Aristotelians caused the writing of more tragedies and more serious drama than before; that there was at the beginning of Philip IV's reign "some attempt to revive the typically Senecan conflict wherein a tyrant, impelled by evil desire, misuses his power as a monarch to bring tragedy to his innocent vassals" as well as other mirrors for princes in dramatic form; that there was now more careful playmaking, especially in the creation of basic structural unity.

The bulk of the book deals with Tirso's relations with other dramatists of the period. Professor Kennedy begins with his hatred for Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, who (she believes) denounced Tirso to the Junta of the Council of Castile for the Reform of Customs in 1625 and had him banned from Madrid and sent to a remote house of his Order for having written "profane plays which are of evil incentive and are bad examples" (although apparently the decree was not enforced and Tirso did not leave till 1626). She continues with a study of the rising and sinking relations between Tirso and Lope, before moving on to other contemporaries in their turn, and to a final chapter of "assessments and reassessments" of the generation and of Tirso's place in it.

The book is extremely vigorous. Tirso excites Professor Kennedy and the excitement shows even in her weightiest arguments. She is unflagging in her reasoning and her documentation, and it is hard to fault her erudition and prodigious industry. Apart from its usefulness as a manual of scholarship, her book is of great value for the certainties, probabilities and possibilities it reveals. Here indeed is a most distinguished scholar sharing her intuitions and imagination. But it is not easy to agree with all of her conclusions. "The art of following literary allusions is an intimate and dangerous one"; their explanation sometimes fails to convince.

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Metropolitan fashions

By Gerald Brown

FRANCISCO UMBRAL:
Diario de un snob
284pp. 200 ptas.
Retrato de un joven malvado
218pp. 200 ptas.
Madrid: Destino.

Ask anyone in Spain these days which writers we ought to be reading if we want to keep in touch with Spanish life and letters, and their list is bound to include the name of Francisco Umbral. The man is everywhere, writing novels, literary biographies, journalism of all kinds, but notably in the currently fashionable satirical magazines, lecturing, chatting, assaulting us with his aggressive, witty, world-weary, know-it-all impressions of what it is like to be a man like Umbral in a country like Spain. A good deal of his writing, particularly in recent years, belongs to the *costumbrista* tradition. *Diario de un snob*, a collection of some of the newspaper articles which have made Umbral a famous name in Spain, is not the diary of an individual but of a society—Madrid in the 1970s. The diary is of a snob, the author explains, because its intent is to record all the very latest fads and fashions, though in order to mock them.

Quevedo and Larra are among Sr Umbral's acknowledged masters. Some readers will ask themselves two questions about him which have often been asked about Quevedo and Larra. Like them, though in his own way, he writes well; he amuses, he entertains, agreed. But does he have anything to offer to the reader who is not particularly interested in the quirks and foibles of the society he describes? And does he stand for anything, is he committed to any serious viewpoint?

The second question is less easy to answer than the first. One of Sr Umbral's most widely read books is called *Memorias de un niño de derechas*, with the obvious implication that the "niño de derechas" has grown into "un hombre de izquierdas". In that book of memoirs about Madrid in the 1940s, as in *Diario de un snob*, he does indeed make much mordant comment on such things as poverty, capitalism and the consumer society. But, then, who doesn't? The fact is that Sr Umbral's principal stock-in-trade is nostalgia. Though he reasonably observes that when Spaniards speak nostalgically of the Madrid of Galdós or Baroja they are in fact speaking of a Madrid which both writers described as a rather unpleasant place to live in, Sr Umbral shares the older writers' ambivalent attitudes. He is full of affection for the bad old days, and has much more of the *casticista* in him than he would have you believe. Even when he writes about bull-fighting, that perennial touchstone of a Spaniard's political attitudes, there is no knowing quite where he stands.

The other question, though, as to whether or not the limitations and triviality of Sr Umbral's subject-matter make him a limited and trivial writer is best answered by *Retrato de un joven malvado*, where he shows that they do not. The scene is once again Madrid, this time in the 1950s and 1960s and the mood once again nostalgic. The narrator is a callow provincial, living in a sordid boarding-house and engaged in a stumbling pursuit of sexual experience, literary fame, and worldly wisdom in the ways of the metropolis, whose *mores* are again caricatured amusingly: in short, a rather ordinary story which we have read before often enough. But, here, extremely well told. One of the narrator's favourite writers is Proust, and, although Sr Umbral, for good or ill, does not write as Proust does, he clearly accepts that dull and unimportant experiences can provide the raw material for exciting literature, and indeed that this might be a way in which art can have the last laugh on life.

The point is nicely made at the end of *Retrato de un jo*[...] Our young narrator co[...] full of vague rebelli[...] bourgeois conventi[...] ready and waiting to b[...] bribed, seduced, i[...] turned out that nobod[...] larly interested. He [...] ever, in wishing to [...] accepted values in [...] homosexuality, suicide, [...] some similarly negati[...] In the end he finds a [...] books.

Seeds of hope

By J. M. Cohen

JOSE ANGEL VALENTE:
El fin de la edad de plata
191pp. Barcelona: Seix Barral.

The structure of José Angel Valente's tight little fables is reminiscent of Borges's in *El hacedor*. Indeed some of the titles in *El fin de la edad de plata* ("Homenaje a Quintiliano", "Abraham Abulafia ante Portam Latinam") could well be Borgesian inventions, and Sr Valente makes a Borgesian use of his more recondite reading. What distinguishes him from the cunning playboy of Buenos Aires is his poetic seriousness, the depth of his bitterness and horror at the spectacle of this Silver Age's end. The central section of the book, and the most deeply felt, is devoted to reflections on the suicide of the Cuban writer Calvert Casey, and on that unhappy exile's final black fantasy, *El regreso*.

The first section reprints four of the five pieces published in 1971 as *Número trece*. T[...] these, which led to a [...] "disrespect for the Spa[...] is omitted. Some of th[...] pieces suffer from [...] reader is perhaps unable [...] the vaguely prophetic Ab[...] arrives at the Roman ga[...] these the poet's range [...] speech before the "S[...] cil" announces the end [...] historical doubt but of [...] tion also. History is [...] and indivisible. But the[...] for fantasy: "My cousi[...] has his ear bitten off by [...] last angel, trapped amo[...] scrapers of Caracas."

The third section is [...] lyricism. Sr Valente is [...] the author of the [...] *Poemas a Lázaro* of 19[...] and effects are made to [...] neat swopping of [...] fabuloso efecto de las [...] in "Tamaris el Tr[...]" deprived of vision and [...] receives "the gift of [...] song" ("el don del [...]) which is silence. Th[...] faced the bleak and [...] of his age and emerges w[...] of mystical hope.

Other recent Spanish books

J. B. AVALLE-ARCE:
Temas hispánicos medievales
390pp. Madrid: Gredos. 360 ptas.

It is fashionable to doubt the value of collecting a scholar's articles in book form; fashionable, and often right, for the job may be botched. Yet, if it's done properly, the book may be more than the sum of its parts. Gredos has a good record with this type of book: in the past eight years, and in the medieval field alone, it has published worthwhile collections of articles by Rafael Lapesa, Diego Catalán, Erich von Richthofen, Brian Tate, and Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas.

Temas hispánicos medievales fully maintains the standard, and perhaps even improves on it. None of the essays is trivial, and most are essential reading for the topics they cover: a lost chronicle, several ballads, the overlap between epic and lyric, the *Poema de Fernán González*, the Catalan romance *Tirant lo Blanch*, three poets of the *Cancionero general*, the prose-writer and archbishop Hernando de Talavera, and a group of fifteenth-century Basque heretics. Most of the essays have been previously published, but these have been brought up to date, and some are new. Cross-references have been added, there is a good index, and the book as a whole represents a fruitful blending of historical and literary scholarship.

MANUEL RAMIREZ JIMENEZ (Editor):
Estudios sobre la República española
264pp. Madrid: Tecnos.

Interest is growing in Spain in the country's last great experiment in political pluralism, the Second Republic, founded with so much hope in 1931 and eventually destroyed by Franco's rebel Nationalist troops in 1939. As uncertainty grows about the future, and politicians hurriedly prepare for a possible return to a party system, the Republic inevitably becomes a point of reference. It is difficult, therefore, to exaggerate the interest of Manuel Ramírez's collection of essays *Estudios sobre la República española* since not only have their authors written them with an eye on the present situation, but they also represent a fair spectrum of the state of Spanish historiography today.

Accordingly, the collection is rather uneven and some of the essays are decidedly weak. The regime's most prolific servant, Ricardo de la Cierva, contributes a survey of sources for the 1930s, which tells us nothing. But there are compensations. Professor Ramírez himself contributes an original analysis of economic and political pressure groups. Juan Marichal, an exiled Republican, presents a revindication of the much maligned figure of Dr Negrín, the last prime minister of the Republic. José Montero provides an obviously well-researched and shrewd estimate of the counter-revolutionary CEDA party.

ANTONIO MACHADO:
Soledades. Galerías. Otros Poemas
Edited by Geoffrey Ribbans
271pp. Barcelona: Labor. 200ptas.

Soledades. Galerías. Otros Poemas, Machado's second volume of poems, was published in 1907. He himself later described it over-modestly as a revised and slightly expanded version of his previous collection, *Soledades*. This, as any reader of his early poetry knows, is very misleading: quite apart from its greater size (ninety-five poems as against forty-two), it shows very clearly the extent to which Machado's poetic criteria had changed between 1902 and 1907. One sign of this is his decision to suppress a number of the earlier, more superficially *modernista* poems—now helpfully reprinted, along with several uncollected pieces of the time in the appendixes to Geoffrey Ribbans's excellent edition. Among the additional poems, those grouped under the title of "Galerías" show Machado exploring the relations between dream and memory in a genuinely Symbolist manner which owes little to *modernismo*. As early as 1904, however, one finds him reacting against what he had come to consider an excessively introspective type of poetry in favour of a greater attention to external reality.

This change of direction, which was eventually to lead to the poems of *Campos de Castilla*, is skilfully charted by Professor Ribbans in his introduction. As he points out, Machado's relations with other writers, notably Unamuno and Jiménez, were crucial to this stage in his development. This new edition, with its judicious use of variants and related material, enables one to follow more easily than before Machado's emergence into poetic maturity, and to appreciate more accurately the options open to intelligent Spanish poets in the early years of this century.

Els Marges: Revista de Llengua i Literatura
No 1: May 1974; No 2: September 1974. Barcelona: Curiel.

Now that the outright prohibition on periodical publications in Catalan has given way to a hardly less frustrating period of hidden restrictions and obstructions, the appearance of a Catalan literary review which offers some prospect of continuity is a most welcome event. It is doubly to be welcomed when the review has got off to such a good start as *Els Marges*. Published every four months under the editorship of the highly respected critic Joaquim Molas and containing 124 pages of text in each number, the first two issues offer an attractive mixture of original writing and criticism, including a lively review section.

Among the more notable contributions are the notes on the early work of Carles Riba by Professor Molas himself, Joan Lluís Marfany's acute comments on Modernism and subsequent twentieth-century movements arising from Joan Fuster's book on contemporary Catalan literature, and the poems by Narcís Comadira and Pere Gimferrer. A translation of René Wellek's *The Main Trends of Twentieth-Century Criticism* appears in the second number. This journal will help immeasurably to consolidate the flourishing imaginative and critical work being produced in Catalan today.

RAFAEL MARTINEZ NADAL:
Lorca's "The Public"
247pp. Calder and Boyars. £4.95.

The original Spanish version of Rafael Martínez Nadal's study *Lorca's "The Public"* appeared five years ago (*TLS*, October 8, 1971); the English translation, undertaken by the author himself, [...] extra chapter, "Death [...] of García Lorca", and a [...] sive index. The main pa[...] book—an extensive com[...] Lorca's unfinished play, [...] reconstructed from the [...] work-sheets—has by now [...] place among the more [...] tributions to Lorca [...] Though the full text of [...] has not yet been made [...] there is plenty of evidence [...] gest that it is a major [...] which Lorca's lifelong [...] on love, death and [...] morality assumes its final [...] profound shape.

For the most part, the [...] tion reads well, though the [...] of the poems mainly ser[...] mind one how virtually [...] it is to render Lorca's [...] vincingly in English.

FERNANDO DE ROJAS:
La Celestina
Edited by Dorothy S. Sever[...]
276pp. Madrid: Alianza.

The editing of *La Celestina* [...] bedevilled—to an extent [...] in any other Spanish [...] masterpiece—by the mis[...] copiously supplied by [...] printers. Six extant edi[...] the date 1502, yet F. J. N[...] shown that not one of [...] printed in that year; the [...] edition selected as base [...] standard Clásicos Hispánicos [...] turns out to be of 15[...] lack authority.

Dorothy S. Severin's [...] which has an Introdu[...] Stephen Gilman, is the [...] take account of Mr N[...] coveries, and of the [...] Saragossa 1507 (the oldest [...] Spanish edition of the [...] *Celestina*), and it is conseq[...] only critical edition to [...] secure foundations. When it [...] peared in 1969 it suffered [...] number of misprints; th[...] reduced in the second edi[...] have been virtually elimin[...] third. This forms part of [...] series—poor paper, narrow [...] —and its spelling is moder[...] as to appeal to the wide[...] public, yet it not only [...] reliable text for student[...] gives scholars, for the fir[...] tool which they can [...] confidence.

Dessert warfare

By Victoria Glendinning

[...] NOBBS:
[...] Death of Reginald Perrin
[...] Collancz. £3.60.

[...] Iolanthe Perrin (initials [...]) leads a regular life with his [...] wife and his regular job as [...] sales executive for Sunshine [...] mango delight, cumquat [...], strawberry and lychee [...]. Then he goes mad—or be[...] sane:

[...] as if I were going sane and [...] at the same time, but then [...] words sane and mad don't [...] much meaning. So few [...] do—blue, green, butter, [...] etc.

[...] keeps calling people earwigs. [...] orders ravioli for all three [...] in a restaurant. He cannot [...] Sunshine Desserts seriously. [...] begin to notice.

[...] boss, his colleagues and his [...] become intolerant and intol[...]. There is a gruesome des[...] of a trip to a safari park [...] anxious wife, sweaty daughter, [...] son-in-law and evil-smell[...] grandchildren. It is the last [...] for Reggie, who wrecks his [...] with one outrageous speech [...] we getting our just des[...]?") and rampages out of his life, Stonehouse-fashion, leaving a little pile of clothes on the beach.

The Death of Reginald Perrin is a determinedly funny book. It contains some good quotable lines, some bad unquotable puns, and much unmemorable but entertaining facetiousness. David Nobbs has written television scripts for *The Two Ronnies* and *The Frost Report*, which are certainly funny enough in their different ways. It is not, on the other hand, a very original book, in that the middle-aged male identity crisis ("It's not that I do not know who I am. It's that I know only too clearly who I am") is a well-worked topic in modern fiction. The best thing about it is the sly discovery, as the story progresses, of the little areas of secret craziness or illegality in the lives of the allegedly sane characters.

Nor does it all end with Reggie's disappearance. Afterwards, he tries on all sorts of identities, from lord to labourer, until he finds one that suits him. In this guise he attends his own memorial service, at which the parson chooses for his sermon the unusual text: "Here are the gumboots you ordered, Madam." Evidently, the world tolerates far more dottiness than it recognizes. The ending, which it would be very improper to disclose, is bizarre, sentimental and unlikely, and comes down firmly on the side of fantasy as the only means of making life work. Of course, all sensible people are aware of this: but it is pleasant to have it confirmed so amiably.

Mountain sickness

By Frances Gibb

[...]IA HAMILTON:
[...] Higgins, the Great
[...] Hamish Hamilton. £2.50.

[...] Cornelius Higgins is in com[...]. He stands on Sarah's Moun[...] overlooking the Ohio Valley [...] greets the dawn: "Bounce the [...] beside me if I want." Or he sits [...] a forty-foot steel pole—his [...] for swimming. He is the best [...], best hunter: the Great. [...] has a problem: to try to [...] the family leave the mountain. [...] up, a slag heap from a [...] cut threatens to slip down [...] smother their home. M.C. is [...] to the mountain; to his past. [...] knows that he must break [...]. The ghost of his great-great-[...]mother, Sarah, running up the [...]tain, mingles dream-like with [...] present fears.

[...] Hamilton's strong sense [...] own past (her ancestors [...] among the slaves fleeing the [...] between 1810 and 1850) comes [...] forcefully, but is never [...]mental. Magical images—"See [...] that lake in a dawning, M.C. [...] was his soul spread out on [...] sparkles"—blend with sensu[...]. The physical presence of [...] mountain is felt at all times: [...] green and gorgeous.

[...] chance of escape comes with [...] arrival of a stranger, a dude, [...] wants to "take mama's voice" [...]. M.C. thinks she will be [...] and the family will travel [...] her. Escape, although not [...], comes in the end through [...] stranger, a girl traveller, [...] awakens M.C. to a new way of [...] his life. The book is about growing up; laying childhood fears and discovering new ones. M.C. works out some problems. He defies his father and brings home his friend, Ben Killburn: the Killburns are white, but not distrusted for that reason. They are "witchy", with red hair and six fingers. Perhaps a more important distinction is between the rural community and the miners outside, who threaten their way of life. Finally, movingly, M.C. solves the problem of the heap: a solution his father comes to share, and one that sees the past not in terms of its ghosts, but as a source of strength for living the present.

Academic questions

By Susan Kennedy

[...]AN KILLICK:
[...] the Dome
[...] Hamish Hamilton. £2.95.

[...] earlier novels it was nannies [...] the College of Heralds: now [...] Killick turns to the English [...], part of the Kensington [...] of the Great Exhibition. This [...] institution (surely Prince [...] would never have given his blessing to so wholehearted a borrowing from the French?) provides the opportunity for some mild jokes about academic irresolution and some unmalicious fun at the expense of the Establishment.

The business of electing a new member to replace Sir Charles Mortlake, the distinguished anthropologist whose will discloses a nasty scandal for the Academy to tidy away, is the excuse to parade a number of tired stock figures: a field marshal trying to cover up a long-forgotten indiscretion, a faded literary critic, a former junior minister famous as "the man who resigned", with a whizz-kid charity organizer thrown in to represent the current scene. Mr Killick is hard put to give them flesh, and the contrived complexities of the plot cannot disguise the inexactitude of his social observation. Nevertheless, Sidney and Beatrice (she was an obscure connexion of Beatrice Webb's, and the proud possessor of her hatpin), whose unwise taste for practical joking is the springboard for ever-multiplying confusion, are a couple of chilling originality. But the edge is quickly blunted. As soon as Mr Killick has a good idea—there are more than a few—the temptation to embroider proves irresistible.

On the downbeat

By Norman Shrapnel

FREDERICK BUECHNER:
Love Feast
248pp. Chatto and Windus. £3.25.

Frederick Buechner would surely be a fashionable preacher if he were not so obviously meant to be a writer. Not a natural writer, exactly: the style is New England Decorated, and its versatility, remarkable from the start, has developed impressively. His religious urge has been, so to speak, deinstitutionalized and recharged with a kind of naked wonder, which has then been reclothed in that well-designed rhetoric. He confronts death and even life with elegant fortitude—and a strong sense of comedy.

This is the third novel about Leo Bebb, Bible salesman and ex-convict turned high-powered evangelist, his daughter Sharon and son-in-law Antonio, who narrates the story. Their morose marriage sinks into a swamp of introversion. Like everything in the Bebb orbit—excluding the novel itself—it is rescued by a last desperate act of salvation in which the evangelist zooms off in a stolen aeroplane like a latter-day angel, cavorting through the heavens trailing revivalist slogans, and finally doing a death-dive into eternal life. (Or did he have a parachute? The possibility is hinted at.)

These spiritual aerobatics come in the nick of time for all concerned: for Bebb, who is being assailed by such agents of Mammon as income-tax inspectors and arson investigators, for the foundering marriage which looks to be all over bar the bubbles, for the author himself who has been building up to his showpiece with artful delays. He handles these admirably. His best effects are derived from the downbeat treatment of high-tension material; a Buechner situation can smoulder on disconsolately for chapters on end before bursting into flame. The trouble with this novel is that the delays are so much more interesting than the resolution, that Mr Buechner's downbeats are so much more appealing than the display of spiritual fireworks forming the climax of the book.

In the abstract

By Susannah Clapp

ANNE TYLER:
Celestial Navigation
276pp. Chatto and Windus. £3.

Jeremy is an artist. His creative urge finds expression in the construction of collages: a form which Anne Tyler seems to find sympathetic, since her book is made up, collage-like, of different though not incompatible views of life and Jeremy. From his sister we learn that Jeremy is a not immediately attractive recluse. "People have asked me", she says, "if he is an albino." His common-law wife, Mary, describes how she was at first bemused and vaguely repelled by Jeremy's shy abstraction, but later grew to love him. And Miss Vinton, a worthy spinster, explains that he is "a genius. Not some run-of-the-mill insurance salesman."

These views are not accorded equal weight. Since sister Amanda is seen to place a high value on sensibleness and dignity, and exhibits blanket disgust of "coloureds", beatniks, clutter and cossetting, her opinion of Jeremy's merits is presumably to be despised. And Mary, who produces five children before leaving Jeremy because he has forgotten their wedding day, is rather too good at breast-feeding and battling with germs to take full account of what Jeremy's abstraction might mean. It is Miss Vinton, who comes closest to being an alert and fully functioning person, who echoes the tone of those passages which retail Jeremy's activities in a supposedly detached third person. These lay stress on the quality of Jeremy's sensibility, remarking on the presence in him both of "shimmering joy" and "nameless fears"—where others are merely content or worried. But, though convincing in its sketch of shyness and agoraphobia—and in its ending, which shows loneliness to be as important a part of Jeremy's make-up as creativity—the tendency of the novel is to suggest that an inability to manage the practical and human side of life indicates other, rarer qualities. "Sad people", Mary says, "are the only real ones", but *Celestial Navigation* does not prove her point.

Extra-curricular

By Catherine Peters

NICHOLAS ARMFELT:
Smudge
206pp. Hutchinson. £3.75.

Smudge is a twelve-year-old nymphet, placed in a rather uncertain present where mini-skirts are worn, shillings are in circulation and girls say "fab". She is not as much fun as Lolita or Candy, being a serious girl of a religious turn of mind, good at her lessons, and the odds are heavily piled up against her. Illegitimate, she is adopted in infancy by an eccentric schoolmaster whose wife dies while Smudge is still very young. To stop himself lusting after the child he marries a near-tart who treats Smudge half as an animated doll to dress and undress, half as a sexual equal with whom to discuss men. When she takes off with a new lover the schoolmaster tries unsuccessfully to crawl into bed with Smudge and then walks off a cliff. Smudge inevitably finds another, more attractive father-figure, seduces him and becomes pregnant.

The long arm of coincidence gets some dislocating wrenches in the course of Smudge's doomed progression to the maternity ward. The young English master Smudge entraps was formerly taught and bullied by her adoptive father—and both men are irresistibly impressed by the charms of a very ordinary little girl. Just before her father kills himself, Smudge writes a story about a boy pushing his hated father off a cliff. Two characters write bad poetry, lovingly quoted. The most convincing figure is that of the mad headmaster, and the novel is worth reading for this portrait, venomously funny and also pathetic. But the many repetitions and inconsistencies are difficult to overlook in so short a book, and the coy yet coarse dialogue is often hard to take.

The call of the bush

By Julian Barnes

DAVID FOSTER:
The Pure Land
235pp. Macmillan. £3.25.

David Foster's second novel examines the spiritual pilgrimage, from aspiration to qualified defeat, of three generations of Australians. Al Manwaring, romantic and instinctive, a professional photographer of affecting landscapes, suffers "a hernia of the id" in his early forties; he quits emotionless philistia for the States, only to become, ironically, a maker of blue films. His daughter Janet, stranded both geographically and between generations, weeps over a volume of Australian 'bush' ballads. Her son Danny completes the triptych with his own brand of discontent. Rational, scientific, unemotional, he hits the same problems as his grandfather, but from the opposite direction. The crisis of barren intellect replaces that of squalid emotion—and both lead to sexual fiasco and suicidal maundering.

Danny's way out is to invoke a purer, primeval vision, that of the Douanier Rousseau's paintings and the teachings of the Chinese Pure Land sect. The family cycle (spiritual and actual) is seemingly complete as he sets off for Australia, a Dharma bumpkin in search of the Pure Land: the voyage is "the high point of his existence". Yet, predictably, Oz contains no wizardry. As Danny's stepsister smugly points out: "It's the most urbanized country in the Western world. They have a lifeline runs direct to them from the Northern Hemisphere. Nothing of their own whatsoever. All brought in. Anyone with brains or talent leaves as soon as they're old enough to get a passport."

There is no denying Mr Foster's honest seriousness; the cyclic structure of his fable is handled with assurance; and Danny, his "half-arsed Lord Jim" who can "invent no new gesture", is convincingly lost. It is in tackling his gristly and inflated prose that readers may wonder how many of their teeth it's worth breaking. The convoluted syntax and the starched phrases (characters do not merely live, they are "enduring a life situation") belie the straightforwardness of the ideas. One is reminded (at another level) of Chesterton's complaint against Tennyson, that he "could not think up to the height of his own towering style".

Specialist Booksellers' Announcements

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